SEXUAL EQUALITY IN THE WORKPLACE

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE
WOMEN'S BUREAU, LABOUR CANADA

MARCH 17–19, 1982, TORONTO

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Minister of Labour, Government of Canada

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FOREWORD

The pursuit of equality between men and women is not a movement unique to our times. It has been manifested in political and social terms throughout history with varying degrees of success. Over the last twenty years or so, the movement has demonstrated a certain tenacity which, in Canada, has brought results.

On December 10, 1981, Canada ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. This is a major, concrete step toward assuring that inequality between men and women will be prohibited. We also take pride in our recently adopted Constitut that entrenches a provision ensuring equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women.

However, our conference on equality in the workplace shows that much more work remains to be done. Signs of inequality around with the persisting and, in some cases, increasing wage gap, women's heavy concentration in low-paying jobs, career obstacles, proportionally higher rates of unemployment, the dual responsibilities of earning a livelihood and raising a family, a lack of quality child care and a lack of uniform enforcement of labour laws, to name only a few.

It is clear from the discussion and exchanges at the conference that our efforts must not falter. Why?

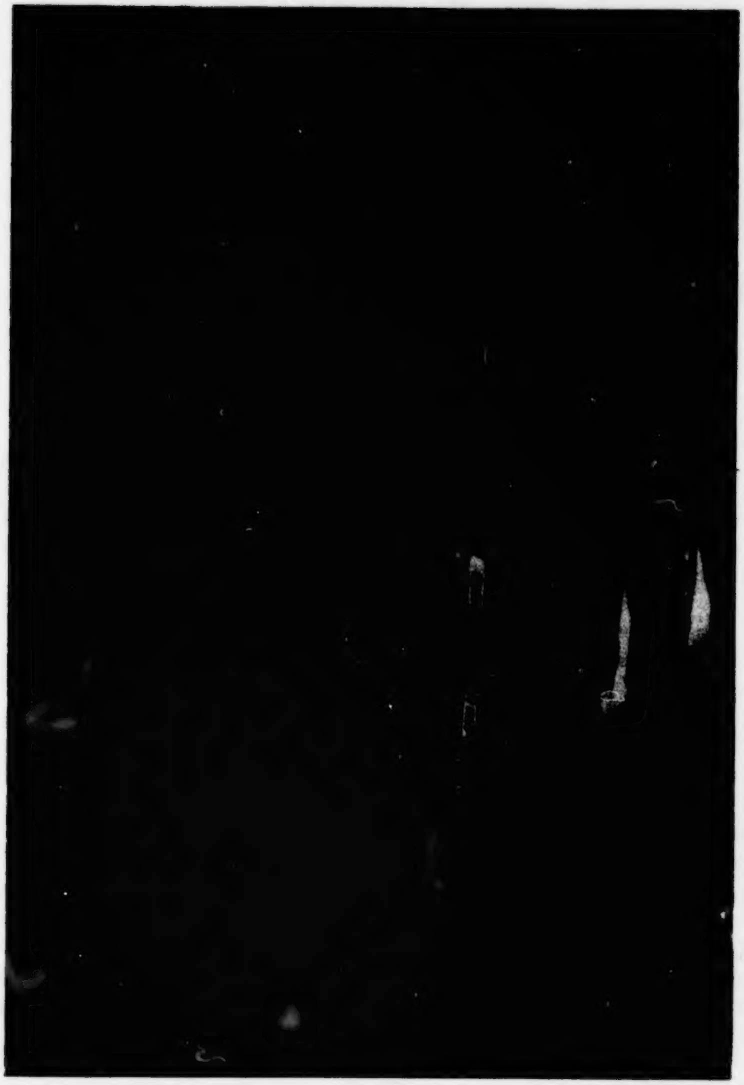
Firstly, sexual equality is a question of basic human rights the promotion of which is a goal to which Canada is committed.

Secondly, in allowing inequality to continue one condones the ineffective utilization of human resources which leads to high social and economic costs for society.

Thirdly, Canada has international commitments in this field. As a member of an interdependent international community, we are required to report to organizations such as the International Labour Organization, the United Nations and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development on the status of women in our society, among other things. The reports and assessments made by these international bodies are made public. Equality, then, is a question of international value.

It seems to me that the cause of equality depends on all of us - women, men, labour, business and governments. Our collective approach in the years ahead will determine the degree of success in this vital area of human relations.

Charles Caccia
Minister of Labour



INTRODUCTION

Life revolves around hopes and dreams. Some come true; others do not. Canada's dream about equality between men and women is yet to be realized. It is a dream built with stuff both realistic and pragmatic. There may be uncertainties about some yearnings in life, but not about following this dream.

Thanks to the determination of people like Nellie McClung, we have come a long way since the 1929 "Person's Case" which exposed Canada's monumental myopia to the world.

In the early seventies, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women handed us a rough blue print which has guided us in setting up the institutional and policy blocks with which to build equality. The International Women's Year and the activities surrounding the UN Decade for Women have helped us to strive ahead with this goal.

"Towards Equality for Women", Canada's National Plan of Action, emerged in early 1979.

Where are we now?

The Conference on Sexual Equality and Industrial Relations convened by the Women's Bureau was designed to provide a forum in which interested parties could come together to share concerns and exchange ideas. This was an opportunity to obtain a greater clarity of views and perhaps to energize a common search for more effective steps to achieve more tangible and qualitative improvements in our elusive pursuit of equality.

Did the Conference succeed? We think so and the proceedings seem to support our belief.

Although the principal actors, the representatives of business, labour, women's organizations and governments, may have a different perception of the "truth" about equality, they agree that equality between men and women must become a reality in their shared interest, the economy. If all human resources are utilized effectively and provided with equal opportunities, individuals will grow according to their aptitude and contribute to the health and vigour of the economy.

Is there any doubt that if the economy succeeds, everyone succeeds?

Did the quest for equality begin with Eve? Or did this eternal search originate in the tears of Lilith? Does it really matter when this "whole rigmarole" began?

What matters is that, from Mill to Montaigne and from Simone de Beauvoir to Steinem, thinkers, social critics, and commentators have, over time, pointed out the social, cultural, economic, political and utilitarian benefits of enabling the full expression of equality between men and women in society. They have assured us that practical and long-lasting benefits are the stuff that dreams of equality are made of.

We should follow that dream.

Co-Chairpersons

Thomas M. Eberlee
Deputy Minister
Labour Canada

Ratna Ray
Director
Women's Bureau
Labour Canada

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Labour Canada extends its sincere appreciation for the co-operation and assistance of the numerous individuals involved in the conference and its proceedings, but more particularly to Norm Shulman, Ellen Cornell, Marie-Claire Wallace, Marianne Fournier, Hugh Porteous, Moya Greene, Blanche Borkovic, Françoise Létourneau, Carmelina Canzona, Ron Woltman and Sean Moore.

A TIMELY CONFERENCE

ADDRESS GIVEN BY CHARLES CACCIA
FEDERAL MINISTER OF LABOUR

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Why is such a conference appropriate at this time? There are many reasons:

1) The equal treatment of men and women at work is an important human rights goal - it is also an essential part of healthy industrial relations.

2) Signs of sexual inequality persist. Women account for more than 40 percent of the labour force, but their earnings are only 58 percent of what men make. Women continue to be concentrated in a few occupations, most women (65 percent) work because they have to. Most single parents are women. Sixty-six percent of working women receive no pension from their employer. And yet women are entering the workforce in growing numbers. Women will account for 70 percent of the growth in the entire labour force over the next 20 years.

3) Industrial relations is about people getting along with other people; we all have moods, prejudices, attitudes and hopes. Each one of us wants recognition - most employees want to get along with management. Management wants stability and productivity in the workforce. Viewed in this context improving the employment position of women is an integral part of sound industrial relations.

The list goes on. All the data point to the same conclusions - inequality persists, and equality issues are not just women's issues, they are socio-economic issues.

Therefore, we need to reach a better understanding of the impediments which continue to thwart our efforts in achieving not only equality, but also more productive use of our female labour force.

Because no nation can expect to attain its full potential when half of its workforce remains underutilized and undercompensated.

This conference is timely because Canada has made certain commitments internationally and at home.

Just over a decade ago, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women handed down its recommendations. The United Nations' Decade for Women, 1975-1985, is almost over.

The High Level Conference on Women and Employment held in Paris under the aegis of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1980, undertook to carry out a number of tasks related to the aims of the decade. Canada had the task of reviewing policies and programmes for women. Canada's own national plan of action for women drawn up in 1979, commits Labour Canada to work to improve the position of women. We approach this conference against this background.

First of all, what are the objectives of this conference?

- to examine and evaluate the current situation of women in the workplace;
- to establish methods for improving conditions and opportunities for women in paid work;
- to identify the elements needed in government policies;
- to draw up strategies for putting those policies into practice; and
- to recommend methods of monitoring the success to such policies in achieving effective equality.

The themes of the four workshops provide a framework in which progress in these areas can be made.

The kinds of issues the workshops will attempt to address are the kinds of issues which are beyond the ability of one employer, one union, or one government to solve singlehandedly.

For instance, there are structural barriers - a form of indirect discrimination. This sort of discrimination may not even be intentional. Yet structural barriers built into the employment process represent one of the most deeply entrenched difficulties for women. These barriers preclude their entry into higher paying occupations and generally impede the realization of their full potential.

How does it happen? It happens when an employer applies a condition or requirement, while applying equally to men and women, such that the proportion of women who can comply with it is considerably smaller than the proportion of men who can. This indirect discrimination means that women suffer from structural discrimination which prevents direct comparison with men. This type of discrimination is perhaps the most pervasive and difficult to beat. Real efforts are needed to review industry-wide employment practices, to remove barriers which sustain occupational segregation and the consequent wage gap.

Women's organizations often call on the federal Department of Labour to eradicate these exclusionary employment practices. However, our ability to identify problem areas is hampered by a lack of information about employment practices in individual establishments. You will be hearing about the difficult approaches utilized by the authorities in the United Kingdom and the United States to ensure that women are not impeded by structural barriers. A way needs to be found in Canada to encourage individual employers to systematically assess the position of the female component of their workforce. This step alone would do much to sensitize employers to the kinds of structural barriers faced by women.

Affirmative action is often offered as a solution to sexual inequality of this kind. Opponents argue that the greater degree of state intervention into the labour market is undesirable. The federal government's current involvement in this area has so far respected that concern. The federal programme, which has been in place since 1976, is a completely voluntary one. However, the small number of employers who have participated in this programme leads me to believe that state intervention may be necessary.

Only 27 companies of 750 approached by the government, agreed to participate in affirmative action programmes. None are in effect yet.

Part of the problem may be that affirmative action has been misunderstood. Affirmative action is designed to address systemic discrimination. We need to find a programme suited to the Canadian culture - throw it up for discussion so that we develop a programme acceptable to the private sector, unions, provincial governments, and the women of this country.

As for 'equal pay for work of equal value', the federal government adopted this standard in 1978 in the Canadian Human Rights Act. Last year we saw the first major contract settlement which demonstrates that this is a workable concept in the federal public service.

So far Québec is the only province legally to adopt this standard. Since most workers are covered by provincial labour codes and provincial governments tend to shy away from this method of identifying wage inequity, something has to be done about that.

Disparities between men's and women's pay will not be eliminated as long as the provincial governments adhere to the 'equal pay for equal work' approach, for even though women may achieve equal pay for equal work, it will continue to be low pay. Far from being an 'abstract principle of equality' the equal pay for work of equal value approach as contained in the Canadian Human Rights Act, offers real and practical promise of resolving a problem that should be tackled with courage and vigour.

All of this is not to say that progress is not being made.

1981 ushered in a number of additional improvements. Paid maternity leave, adoption leave, and leave for special family responsibilities are slowly, but surely gaining ground.

Signs of progress go beyond the sphere of governments. Some Canadian employees have, of their own volition, conceived, designed, and put in place a number of policies and programmes to facilitate better female participation in their organizations and to encourage equality between men and women. These measures range from pro-active employment, training and promotional policies, corporate day care, job sharing, part-time work with pro-rated benefits, anti-sexual harassment policies and other practical steps. Although not yet universally accepted by all employers, these measures provide strong evidence that attitudes about female roles are changing and that the change represents potential gains for employers.

Employees' representatives, whether at the national or local level, have begun to take a more active interest in issues which previously were not likely to reach the bargaining tables. More and more we see and hear about unions going to bat for equal pay for work of equal value and better maternity leave, advocating improved day care provisions, and negotiating anti-sexual harassment clauses. Such efforts augur well for women workers.

The federal government has taken new initiatives:

1) The inquiry into part-time work, headed by Joan Wallace. It will examine the overall employment position of part-time workers in Canada, most of whom are women. It will also study issues like the impact of unionization and the shortcomings of current employment laws relating to part-time work, in order to recommend policy and legislative changes which would broaden the range of employment opportunities available to part-time workers and improve their remuneration.

2) A Task Force on the Implications of Micro-electronics Technology. I am announcing this today.

The task force is the result of the Women's Bureau's conference last year. The uncertainties about the potential negative impact of micro-electronics technology make a task force necessary. It will assess the impact the technology will have on the workplace, especially on women in the workplace and will assess the important human considerations.

The task force will examine the status and extent of the use of this technology in industries under the Canada Labour Code, and it will assess the adequacy of the Canada Labour Code as it applies to technological change. Its recommendations should, among other things, centre on the best manner in which technology ought to be introduced and integrated into the workplace.

The task force will be chaired by Dr. Margaret Fulton, President of Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax.

3) Labour Code Amendments.

I have only touched on a few of the issues which surround the issue of sexual equality in the workforce. Not only is it an economic necessity: it is a fundamental principle.

The onus for bringing about change is on all of us: management, labour, government, men and women themselves.

WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE: ORGANIZING THE FUTURE

ADDRESS GIVEN BY RATNA RAY
DIRECTOR OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, LABOUR CANADA

What are my expectations of the Conference? My expectations are very simple. I am looking for information and inspiration. I am looking for humour and humanism. I am looking for energy and enrichment. Why? Primarily because we need to shift gears; progress towards sexual equality seems to be inching along, at least that is my view.

Facts do speak for themselves, Mr. Caccia has touched on a few, perhaps I could add more. Women workers are on the average better educated than their male counterparts and yet, according to the latest figures available, the average income for women is $10 609.00 and for men $18 468.00. Almost one half of all separated and divorced women with young children are either working for pay or looking for jobs. Women have higher unemployment rates than men. As benchmarks, these facts are certainly disheartening because they suggest that after nearly ten years of dogged work and commitment our efforts have not been as successful as we had hoped.

Compared to many other countries we are doing better in some respects. There is no doubt about that; all is not bleak. It is true that we have no cause for euphoria, but it is reasonable to entertain some bridled optimism, if only because of the dramatic contract settlements in the area of pay and maternity benefits. The changes brought forward by legislation or collective bargaining to a large extent reflect evolving social attitudes. This is encouraging indeed.

At the same time, however, some signs of difficulties and fatigue are evident. The same statistics, the same obstacles and often the same ideas are beginning to take their toll. It is time to pause, to review, and to assess. It is time to consolidate our gains, to clarify our needs and to determine future directions. It is also time to debate the viewpoints and determine collectively which one will be suitable for the challenges ahead of us.

I am eagerly looking forward to hearing the conference participants brainstorming about the two approaches to equality: equality of opportunity as opposed to equality of results. Will the participants be satisfied with clear access and equitable treatment for men and women or are they looking forward to numerical equality (50/50, 40/60 or 25/75) of sexual distribution in an establishment which would reflect the community within which it operates? It is extremely important to ensure that participants discuss and weigh the disadvantages and advantages of strong state intervention in the market place versus the "laissez faire" attitude or philosophy.

After all these years, one still hears the view that women take men's jobs away and that in view of hard economic times, they might think seriously of returning to and staying at home. I hope through the exchange of information and ideas the sceptics, if there are any, will be influenced to consider the following:

- most women work for pay because they must;
- women as well as men have the right to stay in the labour market;
- a great deal of money is invested in education and training; by taking part in paid work women get a good return from that investment, so do taxpayers;
- last but not least, women as well as men should enjoy the human dignity of being self-sufficient and self-reliant, self-determination is not confined to specific groups. It is a choice being made with greater frequency by many individuals who just happen to be women.

With a view to assessing our current policies and programmes it will be helpful, and indeed most valuable, to acknowledge the reality that, given the current economic situation, demographic characteristics, and the skill shortages, women's participation in the labour force will continue to grow in this perspective, since men and women are interdependent. Rather than engaging in recrimination and counter-recrimination, it will be more beneficial to work together with humanity and humour.

The conference participants might also consider the value of looking at sexual equality as a pragmatic, economic consideration. In more ways than one, the conference participants could persuade each other, should that be necessary, to reconsider their fixed positions and perhaps explore various possible avenues through which women and men can enjoy true equality at the same time and contribute to the economy as full-fledged partners. The participants should provide a great deal of information to each other, to workers, employers, and administrators, so that when everyone goes back home, they can use this information productively. They should aim at reaching a measure of consensus about many of the following concerns, in no particular order of priority.

Affirmative action. Should this programme be aimed at women only or at women, the native people, and the disabled? Should it remain voluntary or should it become compulsory and enforced? In both cases, why? How would one reconcile the exigencies of affirmative action with those of the seniority system in the workplace? Should human rights legislation remain as it is in Canada? As you know, the onus is still on the female employee or employees or their representatives to lodge a complaint. Should there be workplace committees along the lines of the health and safety committees to foster equality? How would they work? Is there any reason why Canada's labour legislation, which governs day-to-day employment terms and conditions, cannot contain a provision that clearly articulates that men and women do and should possess and enjoy equality of status, rights, and privileges, regarding their participation in the labour market? Might we find some inspiration in the legislation which governs linguistic and cultural equality in this country? Is there any reason why this legislation could not contain a section that provides for investigation of complaints and another that obliges a given agency to initiate and enforce special studies and make active recommendations?

It is extremely important in my view, that conference participants acknowledge that full equality between men and women in the labour market is not possible in the long run until this responsibility is shared equally by young people, their parents, and educators equally. One cannot expect equality in the labour market when too many children end up in paid work, ill-equipped and ill-informed. It is unfair as well as unrealistic to expect employers, whether in the public or private sector, to assume all the blame when it is up to parents, counsellors and the educational system to meet their obligations. I am looking forward, as you are Mr. Eberlee, to hearing the exchange of views and ideas from participants. Thank you very much.

SEXUAL EQUALITY:
WHO HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACHIEVING IT?

Dian Cohen
Economics Writer

Reacting to Mr. Caccia's statement about equality for women being an important human rights goal, Miss Cohen came to the conclusion that the converted were being talked to at this conference and she questioned the validity of the exercise.

Genuine progress in equality has been made, particularly in the last two decades, but she felt that, without a re-examination of the basic concepts and goals, any future efforts were threatened. She pointed out that we were in danger of pursuing "equal pay and the power of the executive suite", but were, in reality, obtaining the equal right to have heart attacks, lung cancer, and so on.

Three groups of women must be considered when defining goals: those who stay at home; those who go out to work; and those who do both. If this is not kept in mind, the result will be "either contradictory public policy initiatives", or discrimination "against one or other of the three groups".

While discussing equal pay versus equal representation, Miss Cohen said, that, based on current statistics, equal representation in all occupations could result in a female unemployment rate that "would probably be twice what it is right now". This straight line projection prompted a great deal of reaction throughout the conference.

She went on to emphasize the need to examine and change our socialization process which currently reinforces the attitude that a woman's place is in the home. Without this, no legislation, however progressive, would really be successful.

Miss Cohen recognized the importance of flex-time and part-time work as viable alternatives to some of the problems and stressed that for many jobs it was not necessary to work in an office from 9:00 to 5:00. She also felt that the advantages of women staying at home deserved some attention. She touched on the wages for housework approach and foresaw a great deal of resistance to it.

In answer to the theme of the session - who has responsibility for sexual equality - Miss Cohen believed that in our current economic situation governments would not be able to give high priority to this kind of issue. She continued to say:

> "I think that as Canadians we spend far too much time waiting for our governments to take initiatives. I think that we have to do something and if indeed everyone of you believes that sexual

equality in the work place is a valid human rights goal, then the best thing you can do is get out there in the big world and start talking to all the people who do not believe it."

Madeleine Parent
Eastern Vice President
Confederation of Canadian Unions

Miss Parent did not dwell on the statistics relating to the social and economic inferiority of women in the work force or on the lower value attributed to the work women do because of the occupations they are concentrated in.

She reminded the audience that this was not always so in our society. When World War II was declared and Canada began to prepare itself to be the "arsenal of the allies" old factories were revived, new ones built and many operated 24 hours a day. People were desperately needed in the labour force and, in war-time, immigrants could not fill the gaps. "So women were coaxed out of the home and went into war-time jobs", including heavy industry. "They learned quickly...and, in those days, women were praised for what they did; they were counted on and they produced."

But the war ended, the men came home, the country's economy changed, and the old traditional attitudes returned. Women went back home, and their proportion in the work force declined and regained its position only gradually. By the sixties, the rise in the participation rate was impressive, but women were and are concentrated in traditional and low paying occupations. Miss Parent felt that it was "very important that the government play a responsible and vigourous role in correcting this injustice in our society." She continued to say it was necessary "to make the best use of the labour force potential".

The federal legislation on equal pay for work of equal value was seen as a milestone, but without the provinces enacting similar laws, injustice will likely continue.

Miss Parent discussed the importance of maternity leave. The issue is an important one and according to a gallup poll (Feb. 27, 1982), the public is not adverse to paid maternity leave. But often, leave related to child care is not restricted to the birth of a child and parental leave should be considered.

Women or men taking time off from a career to care for children are performing a valuable service for society. She felt that pension credits should continue to accumulate during these periods.

Many other issues which are in need of legislation were discussed. Unfair dismissal is a very real possibility particularly where there is no union. Part-time workers are denied benefits and

Miss Parent feels that these could be given in proportion to the hours worked. Home-work was seen as a current problem with too many cases of employers exploiting employees, that without caution could become much worse with the new technology and the possibility of much more work being done at home. It was stressed that over-time should be on a voluntary basis.

Occupational safety and health legislation must be improved and updated. Federal and provincial cooperation would be very beneficial. Video-display terminals was used as an example of new equipment with obvious as well as unknown dangers.

Miss Parent introduced the concept of equality committees backed by legislation and essentially modelled on health and safety committees. Employees would monitor instances of injustice and inequality and discuss them with management and if necessary go to the government.

Finally, she advocated the strengthening of the Women's Bureau and the possibility of it being more effective than other organizations as it reports to the Minister of Labour.

Discussion

Response to the session's theme of who should be responsible for achieving sexual equality was very limited. One trade unionist was of the opinion that the primary responsibility lies with working women. Privileged classes, races, and sexes, will only give up their privileges when pressured to do so. He went on to say that the same applies to politicians and trade union leaders -- they respond to pressure. Working women were therefore encouraged to pressure employers, politicians and "trade union bureaucrats".

By far, the topic that was the most widely discussed was part-time work, flex-time, and home-work. One conference participant expressed a concern that part-time work was usually equated with female employees and that to enhance opportunities for it would further contribute to female ghettoes. It would also allow women to fulfill their obligations in the home and their need to be in the work force without affecting the existing detrimental attitudes towards them and their roles.

Miss Parent said she was not advocating more part-time work, but rather its regulation by legislation to ensure that benefits are not denied to this category of worker. Miss Cohen saw the work place of the future as very different from today's, with more and more work being done in the home because of micro-technology. The home-work aspect was developed by another conference participant as a more cost-efficient unit in the future because of rising transportation and office rental costs. Unfortunately, he also saw it as an answer to another problem - day-care. The negative aspects of this were quickly and definitely voiced. Child-care responsibilities are full-time. To combine them with work that would normally be done away from home, particularly with young children, would be very difficult.

Home-work, although convenient for some, was also seen to present a danger insofar as people would be isolated and it would be very difficult to organize them into any kind of unit which would protect their rights, standards, and other terms of employment.

Dr. Ray pointed out that it is not only women who choose part-time work. Some men who want to retire gradually or who want to get out of the 8:00 to 4:00 straightjacket, some young people who do not want to devote so much time to making money, are also choosing part-time or flex-time as an alternative. She also emphasized that the freedom to choose to work at home or in an office is important. Home-work should not be imposed.

Mr. Eberlee clarified some points regarding part-time work. The deputy minister did not refer to it as an alternative to be promoted, but rather in terms stating that it "exists and there are questions of economic and social justice which should be considered." Part-time work tends to be concentrated in some industries where women have the greater share of part-time positions. "People who work less than a certain number of hours are excluded from bargaining units or they find that certain labour standards do not apply to them or they are paid at lesser rates than those doing the same work on a full-time basis" or they are denied fringe benefits. For this reason an inquiry commission has been established to identify the problems and make recommendations.

LABOUR CANADA: A HISTORY OF ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS

ADDRESS GIVEN BY THOMAS EBERLEE
DEPUTY MINISTER OF LABOUR

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I found the discussion this morning extremely interesting and useful. It was general in many respects. I was particularly interested in Miss Parent's list of matters which she felt should be dealt with in legislation and we did make reference to the issue of part-time workers and to the study which we hope will lead to legislative and programme proposals with respect to the impact of new technologies on the workplace. Reference was also made to the contents of the legislative package that Mr. Caccia expects to be able to introduce very shortly, if the lawyers will get on with their drafting job.

Miss Parent singled out an unjust dismissal provision as being something that she felt was very essential. We agree completely with her in that respect. The Canada Labour Code has contained a provision since the Fall of 1978 which prohibits unjust dismissal. It applies to the non-union sector, because collective agreements control unjust dismissal. We have had a great deal of business under that provision. I do not have the specific numbers with me, but in the Great Lakes Region alone, we have had something like 450 cases since 1978. Many of them involved people in the non-union sector, many of whom were women. If a case is not settled by one of our officers, it then goes through a process of adjudication or arbitration. The arbitrator may order the person returned to the job, or order the person to be compensated for lost wages, or may dismiss the complaint as unfounded. There have been a number of situations where people have had what was a very unjust form of treatment rectified. I think that the provision works and I hope that our provincial departments of labour will emulate it soon.

Someone made the point this morning, that, of course, all programmes that labour departments administer do have an impact upon women at work. That is certainly the case with our programmes. Our Conditions of Work Programme, Occupational Safety and Health, Mediation and Conciliation, Labour Education, and our new Quality of Working Life Programme, are obviously aimed at both men and women in the workplace. But we also have a centre of responsibility which channels all its time and energy to matters dealing solely with sexual equality.

It may not be a widely known fact these days (against the backdrop of a myriad of responsibility centres for women) that it was the federal Department of Labour which in September 1954, established the first federal office entrusted to deal with various problems experienced by women in the labour market and those wishing to enter the world of paid work. I refer, of course, to our Women's Bureau.

Introducing the Women's Bureau to Parliamentarians, the then Minister of Labour, the Honourable Milton F. Gregg observed:

> "The women's organizations, speaking for a large number of women, have been urging upon the government for some time that there are special problems facing women workers which should be given special attention. They say that adequate information is not alwavs available in Canada pertaining to women workers, and that there is a need for more study and analysis of the basic facts about the employment of women and the opportunities for their employment. Also, there appears to be need for intimate study of the particular problems of women in special situations, such as those who are both workers and homemakers or older women who might become self-supporting"
>
> "It is believed", Mr. Gregg went on to say, "some women in employment are handicapped by some common prejudice of employers which are not founded on fact, and women think it is the responsibility of the Department of Labour to study the problems peculiar to women workers and establish facilities for making the results of such studies available to women's groups,"

In conclusion Mr. Gregg remarked:

> "We therefore propose to establish a senior position in the Department to be filled by a competent woman.... I am confident that the new Women's Bureau will play a very valuable part in the improvement of status of women...."

Our minister, Mr. Caccia, in his opening remarks underlined that sexual equality is and must be an integral element of effective industrial relations. This has been our tradition since 1954.

Under the leadership of the first director, Marion Royce, an eminent Canadian and an exceptional woman, the Bureau began publishing research papers on issues such as, married women working for pay, child-care arrangements for working mothers, and women in retail work.

In addition, the bureau started promoting women's basic rights in employment, encouraging the acceptance of women as legitimate participants in the labour market. The Bureau highlighted the major obstacles such as lack of adequate day care facilities, lack of vocational information and training, educational requirements, working conditions, labour standards, equal pay, maternity leave, pension and other terms and benefits of employment which stood in women's way toward full recognition of their ability to make meaningful contributions to the growth of society.

On a regular basis, the Bureau published statistics and raised questions to demonstrate the poor treatment women were receiving both within and outside the public service.

No one here with memories of the past will forget the role of the federal Department of Labour, through its Women's Bureau, in seeing the passage of the Female Employees' Equal Pay Act through Parliament. That was in 1956.

This act prohibited the payment of different rates of pay on the basis of sex for equal work carried out in establishments coming under the jurisdiction of the federal government. But, like other statutes of that time (and of the present), the onus was on women employees to activate the statute by personally laying complaints.

The federal Department of Labour's activities aimed at fostering equality were not confined to the four corners of Canada. During 1954-1968, through our Women's Bureau, we took active part in facilitating the adoption of international labour instruments in Geneva. These instruments included Discrimination in Employment, Equal Employment Policy and Employment of Women with Family Responsibilites.

What good, you may ask, is done by international labour or other instruments? Briefly stated, Canada, as a member state, is required to report regularly on the status of implementation of these instruments whether through legislation, collective agreement or other methods. This reporting requirement, one might say, provides the incentive to make progress back home.

In 1968, Ms. Sylva Gelber, a renowned champion of women's rights, was appointed director of our Women's Bureau. During her time, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women handed down its recommendations. Ms. Gelber made many contributions to the commission's work.

As the member nations debated and finally adopted the United Nation's Declaration on Elimination of Discrimination against Women, our department, through the Women's Bureau made its presence felt.

Also, during the stewardship of Ms. Gelber, our Canada Labour Code underwent major revisions. These amendments included prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of sex and marital status, a strong reinforcement of the principle of equal pay for equal work and it introduced maternity leave provisions of 17 weeks.

Perhaps not enough, but it was a beginning.

Between 1968 and the end of 1975, the federal Department of Labour made further contributions to international efforts towards equality. Permit me to introduce you to a few highlights.

In 1972, Canada ratified Convention 100 of the International Labour Organization which clearly set out the goals and objectives for Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value (1951). Again, the Women's Bureau of my department played an instrumental role in bringing about agreement of the provinces, without which the ratification of this instrument would have been impossible.

The inception of federal involvement in the Affirmative Action programme took place in 1975 within the federal Department of Labour. Our Women's Bureau drew up the first set of guidelines for this initiative. As you know, the Affirmative Action Programme, by agreement, now resides within the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission which has the necessary resources to carry out its implementation.

1975 saw the International Women's Year. My department, through the Women's Bureau played an assertive role in the dissemination of information and promotion of issues and viewpoints. In the same year the International Labour Organization adopted its Declaration and a Plan of Action designed to bring about effective equality between men and women. My department, through the representation of the Women's Bureau, played a leading role. This Declaration, reinforced by the United Nations' Plan of Action, led member states to produce their respective plans of action. Canada saw her plan of action, titled Towards Equality, early in 1979. It was put together by the Office of the Co-Ordinator, Status of Women, in consultation with federal departments and agencies. Labour Canada is one of the major players in this endeavour.

During the period spanning late 1979 to now, my department has remained, you might say, more than active with issues related to sexual equality. The Women's Bureau has accomplished several goals. By developing new policy initiatives and translating them into effective proposals for changes to the Canada Labour Code, the bureau has introduced possibilities of dynamic labour standards concerning sexual harassment and leave for workers with family responsibilities. (These proposals are expected to be introduced to Parliament by our minister in the near future.)

By convening conferences on important issues such as equality in the workplace and impact of micro-electronics technology, the bureau has focussed attention on continuing difficulties and on their possible solutions.

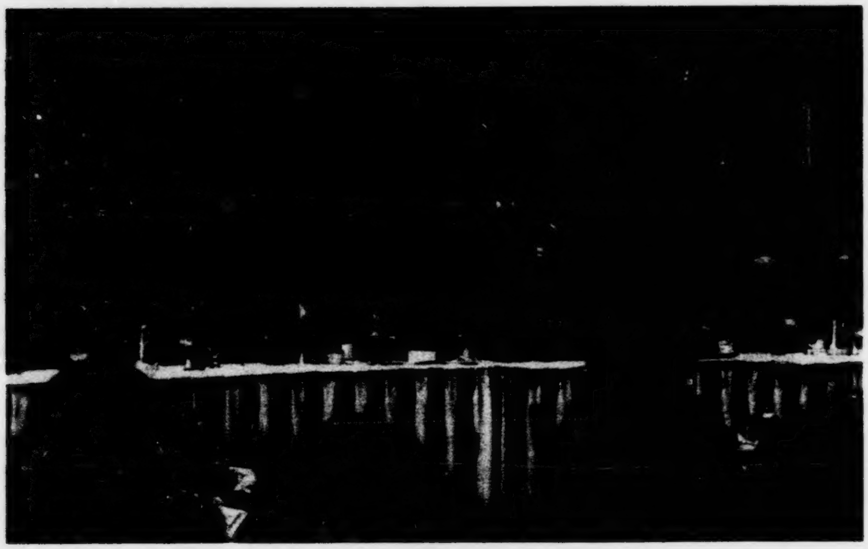
Educational and promotional efforts, including films, participation in innumerable conferences, seminars, workshops, and appearances in the media, appear to have increased the awareness of women and employers on such issues as sexual harassment, better maternity benefits, and equal pay for work of equal value.

The Bureau has also produced a large number of research papers, reports, and pamphlets on key topics and responded to a very large volume of requests for speakers as well as printed material.

Last but not least, as a result of the bureau's research and on the basis of its recommendation, the minister has established, as you know, an Inquiry Commission into Part-Time Work; an exceedingly difficult area of employment and equality.

These are some of the programmes and activities through which we, in the Department of Labour, have tried to foster sexual equality.

I look forward to this conference playing a very useful role in identifying what we, in Labour Canada, need to bring forward and recommend. Basically, this is not a political conference, it is a search conference, an informal conference. We know that the converted are present, the question is really how to translate that conversion into action which will be meaningful and useful.



INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES TO SEXUAL EQUALITY IN THE WORKPLACE

Peter Robertson
Organization Resources Counselors
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Robertson's presentation focussed on the legal approach to employment discrimination used in the United States and the evolution of key concepts.

To begin, he divided the statistics into three categories: differences in the unemployment rates for men and women, occupational segregation, and wage disparity. These were considered to be the measure of inequality in the workplace.

Initially, in the United States, the approach was a voluntary one. Recalling his early days in 1963 with the Missouri Human Rights Commission, Mr. Robertson said there was a statute against discrimination, but employers were simply talked to and asked to hire more women, pay them more, and consider them for non-traditional jobs much the same as was done for Blacks, native Americans and other economically excluded groups. This had a very minimal impact on the statistics for a number of years.

Mr. Robertson pointed out that in this period the underlying assumption was that the "statistics were caused by the intentional acts of employers" who were deliberately excluding women and other groups, paying them less, and assigning them in a segregated fashion.

When the voluntary approach was abandoned and an enforcement one adopted, using the Anti-Discrimination Law, very little was achieved. Investigators for government agencies "focussed primarily on identifying employers who engaged in illegal acts of discrimination."

By far the largest impact followed the re-definition of the key terms and the introduction of the concept of systemic discrimination. The early definitions, which led to legislation, focussed on the intentional and unequal treatment, but did not improve the situation. The result was that the statistics were still not satisfactory.

When the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission began to define systemic discrimination, they looked at the effect of employers' practices. The next step involved asking if employers had to change something and this led to a third question which was -- is there any justification for what they are doing?

One result was the adoption of a phrase in the United States -- the business necessity standard. To qualify as one, a practice must "contribute to the safe and efficient operation of a business", and there must be no other way of doing it. Otherwise, the practice will be difficult to defend as being necessary.

With this in mind, the workplace was regarded differently and it was no longer necessary to ask why the statistics existed, but rather "to start asking what are the numbers; what is the employer doing; and what could he do differently that would still meet his business needs". That is, what can be done about it. This interpretation was initially adopted by the administrative agency, then approved by the courts, and in later legislative enactments, was ratified by Congress.

Mr. Robertson divided the American remedies for discrimination into three categories. The first, which "makes individuals whole"; the second type, which changes discriminatory employment systems; and finally, what he referred to as numerical remedies.

The first category applies to cases where people have been discriminated against and the remedy involves back pay. If you were not hired because you were a woman or the member of a minority, you are hired and given back pay. The same applies to being fired, assigned, or paid in a discriminatory manner. Mr. Robertson gave some examples of the "very expensive remedies imposed on employers in the United States."

The second category of remedy simply seeks to alter an employment system that has been identified as discriminatory.

Mr. Robertson chose his words very carefully for the third category, "numerical remedies". These have led to the greatest misperceptions and were described as remedies where "the employer is being asked through a legal process to change something and to take numbers of people as a function of race, sex, or national origin into consideration", and from among qualified individuals "hire a certain percentage of women or Blacks or native Americans, or whatever group has been discriminated against". The phrase "qualified individuals" was stressed.

When the United States Supreme Court issued its first lead case on remedies, its statement was, according to Mr. Robertson, "almost contradictory". He said, in essence, that the court stated that, "the main reason for tough remedies is to encourage voluntary compliance". He went on to say that when Congress passed the law, it "believed that the primary method of compliance would be voluntary" and that the court was of the opinion that "the relatively certain prospect of back pay will be the incentive to employers to examine their own practices, to identify systemic discrimination, and to change it."

This, in fact, is what is happening. Informal numerical remedies are being adopted and incorporated into management programmes. Where some companies did not even realize that they had a formal employment system, they are now gaining an appreciation of systemic discrimination by looking at their statistics and, if necessary, asking why minorities are under-represented and determining what they can do to change. This is beneficial for employers as they are not only complying with legislation, but they are also improving their human resources management as a result of asking the questions.

Mr. Robertson talked briefly about reverse discrimination and noted that according to the Supreme Court, if a voluntary compliance system is involved, the employer must be given some flexibility and traditional management prerogatives must be protected.

He ended by expressing great optimism for Canada. The Canadian Human Rights Commission is "unequivocal in its statements about the definition of discrimination as including a systemic element", and is grappling with the right issues, as are its provincial counterparts. Mr. Robertson also felt that Canada has many progressive initiatives and measures such as affirmative action, work sharing, and unemployment compensation (particularly where a full-time job is not involved), and that these indicate that we are on the right path.

David Pannick
Barrister
London, England

Mr. Pannick spoke about the British experience of enacting legislation to combat sexual inequality in the workplace. The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 "was regarded by government spokesmen at the time as the most comprehensive and far reaching legislation of its kind in the world."

The act recognizes direct and indirect discrimination. Mr. Pannick defined the former as "treating a person less favourably on the grounds of his or her sex" and the latter as "applying a condition or a requirement that has a disproportionate adverse impact on persons of one sex and which is not justifiable". It does not only apply to employment, but also to education and the provision of goods, services, premises and facilities. However, remuneration is covered by the Equal Pay Act (1970).

Sex discrimination legislation has been applied broadly by the English courts. The examples cited included recent cases which established that prospective employees must be considered on individual merits, that stereotyped assumptions should not be applied and that the lack of sanitary facilities or the possible promotion of industrial unrest are also not defenses to discrimination. The Employment Appeal Tribunal in particular has also been very successful in dealing with indirect discrimination. The tribunals have taken note of the fact that over 85 percent of part-time workers in the United Kingdom are women and that 40 percent of all female employees work part-time, and have held that certain practices are discriminatory and unjustifiable.

Despite these progressive decisions, Mr. Pannick felt that the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act and the 1970 Equal Pay Act have had a very limited impact in remedying occupational segregation and in securing equal pay for men and women in the workplace.

Besides maternity pay, there are no supporting facilities for working women that have been mandated. Leaves of absence for family care are unknown and "the government has failed to use its powers of contract to ensure that those with whom it deals operate equal opportunity programmes".

Because any differentiation between men and women is prohibited by the act, special training for women is unlawful except under specifically authorized circumstances. Unfortunately, few employers have taken advantage of the opportunities that do exist.

From the British experience Mr. Pannick concluded that their current legislation has only removed overt discrimination. There are too many exceptions to the 1975 act; its goal was not defined precisely, and essentially it does not go far enough in legislating measures that must be taken. Relating this to Canada, Mr. Pannick said:

> "You must have a much broader legislative programme that embraces positive action, certainly in training for women, or you must be more confident that your employers and your trade unions have a greater commitment to employment equality in the workplace than has been seen in the United Kingdom."

Monica Townson
Economic Consultant
Ottawa

Rather than review Canada's efforts towards sexual equality in the workplace from an academic viewpoint, Miss Townson presented what she termed a "client group perspective". Her long association with the women's movement and her personal experience allowed her to address the subject on a different level than the afternoon's other two panellists.

She quoted many statistics to illustrate that not much progress has been made regarding wage differentials and occupational segregation. The Canadian approach to achieving sexual equality in the workplace was characterized as "middle of the road, quiet, and as non-violent as possible".

While Miss Townson recognized that many government policies, both federal and provincial, have been introduced too recently to pass judgement on them fairly, she did feel that they are inadequate:

> "Generally speaking, Canada's approach to this problem has been concentrated on anti-discrimination laws affected through the Human Rights Commission, triggered by individual complaints, dealt with

on a case by case basis, and settled by conciliation if possible. These efforts have been supplemented by attempts to increase public awareness and to promote sexual equality in the workplace through voluntary affirmative action programmes. It does not work."

It was pointed out that the equal pay for work of equal value applied only in two jurisdictions, the federal and the province of Québec, and that consequently only 10 percent of workers in Canada were covered. Publicly funded training programmes were also not seen as successful because too many of the women participating in them were still being channelled into traditional female occupations. The lack of success of affirmative action programmes was also emphasized. She expressed some concern that some high profile economic research institutions were not doing any valid research.

On a more positive note, Miss Townson gave examples of progress in some industries which were brought about by women pressuring their employers. She was also of the opinion that, although only a small percentage of women were unionized, "the trade union movement can perhaps be the leading edge in achieving sexual equality for women in the workplace".

Although Canada's overlapping jurisdictions were seen as a major problem, Miss Townson felt strongly that the recognition of systemic discrimination and working towards eliminating it was of prime importance.

Discussion

Dr. Ray opened the session by asking Mr. Robertson what the difference was between quota, timetable, and target or goal. He replied that the first term presented a problem, but the other two were terms used in the context of the American federal compliance programme.

The word "quota" has many meanings and does not elicit a common concept in any one audience. For this reason Mr. Robertson coined the phrase "numerical remedies". Some courts in the United States have used the word in the sense that it means hiring people without regard to qualifications, but rather because of their race or sex, and have held that it is illegal. Others, however, say they are legal if they are temporary; are intended to remedy discrimination; are not absolute; are used on a ratio basis; and do not entail hiring the unqualified.

Goals and timetables, as noted previously, are used in a very specific context and to qualify for a government contract; employers are required to provide a written plan on an annual basis. The plan includes an analysis of a company's work force, specifically regarding the utilization of women and minorities and comparing it to local availability, the identification of any under-utilization and, if necessary, the presentation of an affirmative action plan for its elimination. The affirmative action plan must have two elements: evidence, of changing the system that led to the under-utilization, and goals and timetables. For example, if the availability for a certain occupation were 22 percent and the company's rate was 12 percent, then the goal would be 10 percent. A time-table simply presents a time-frame for achieving the goal -- one, two, or more years.

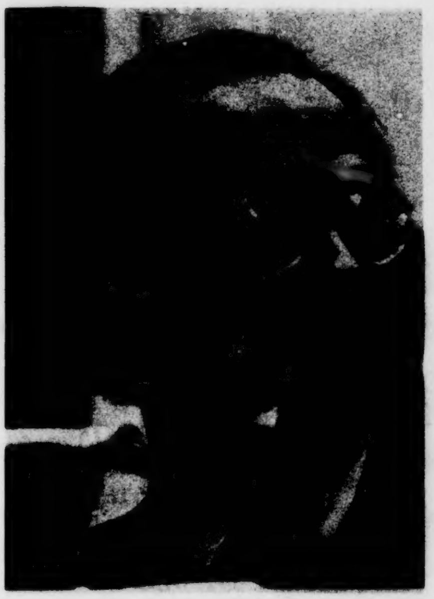
Regarding the administration of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, Mr. Robertson was asked to comment on the filing of statistics. Since 1964, every employer with more than 100 employees has had to file form EED-1 on an annual basis. The form is extremely simple and breaks down the workforce into eight major job categories, as well as sex, race, and national origin. Its simplicity allows great flexibility so that statistics can be computed on a national basis or by specific geographic area or industry. It also identifies employers who should be examined individually.

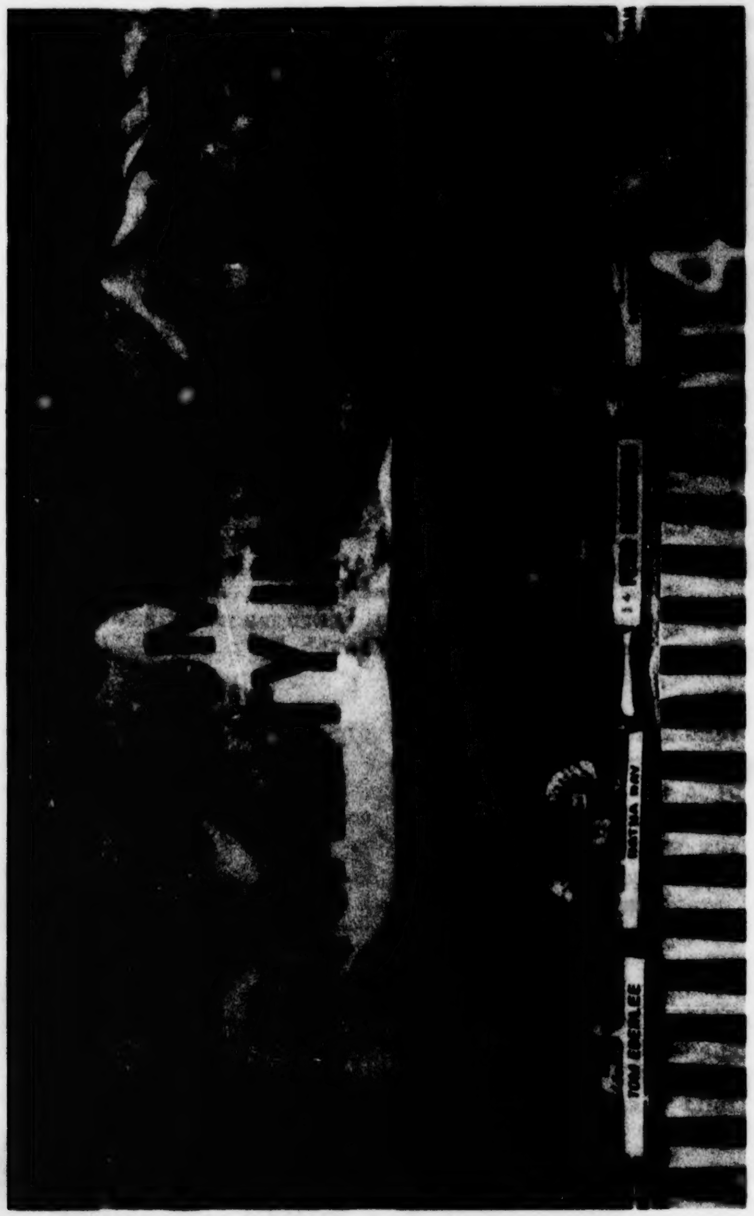
Two participants expressed a need in Canada for statistics for research and administrative purposes. The current gaps in Canadian data make it very difficult in some areas.

Dr. Ray raised the paperburden issue, but while Mr. Robertson admitted that there was some accuracy to it, he felt that it was not a current problem as the number of details that were now being sought had been reduced.

A conference participant brought up the fact that employers are concerned that affirmative action programmes would prevent them from hiring the most as opposed to the just qualified person for a job. This set off a lively discussion with Mr. Robertson saying that qualifications should be business necessities, that measuring systems must be questionned to establish what they are really identifying, and that ranking systems must be validated because quite often employers have been found to be discriminating in one or more of these areas.

Mr. Pannick felt that it should be pointed out that there was potential, if not actual, conflict between efficiency and affirmative action. How to rank the competing priorities of women, the handicapped, the poor, and other minorities also presented problems. He was also worried about the impact of affirmative action on women and their fellow workers' perception of their ability to do a job.




TOM EBERLEE

SEXUAL EQUALITY IN THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS

ADDRESS GIVEN BY THE HONOURABLE JUDY EROLA, P.C., M.P.

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. It is indeed a pleasure to address you on the theme of your Conference - Sexual Equality in the Workplace. It is a subject with which, I, in my capacity as Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, am deeply, and ever more preoccupied. It is a subject which we, both men and women, must confront, and once confronted, find an operative consensus. And then, we must face consequences, and have the strength of our convictions.

We have been marking International Women's Day in Canada, both to reflect and to celebrate. We reflect upon the vast changes as they affect the role of women in our society. At the same time, we celebrate the significant strides we have made in achieving recognition for our struggle for economic independence, and for economic security. We are concerned, however, not with absolutes, but with an evolutionary process; with the movement towards social, political and economic equality.

I should like to be able to say that a new era has been ushered in with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; that discrimination is dead, and that equality has been achieved, (or will be, once the Canada Act is brought home). But we all know that this would be misreading reality.

I would argue, however, that we are now on the threshold of great possibilities. The difficult struggle to achieve the legislative principle of equality is behind us, for this principle is soon to be enshrined in our Constitution. Let me take the opportunity of setting the record straight however. While it was the women of Canada who through concerted and most effective lobbying, pressured for S-28, it was, ultimately, this government which brought it off! My "partisanship" may be showing, but let's call the shafts when we see them - I know shafting in both my portfolios - Mines and Status of Women! And let me tell you, I wear my hard hat for both!

Thus, for Canadian women, International Women's Day has singular significance, for the principle of equality, long deliberated and debated, has come of age in Canada. As a nation, we have moved into a mature recognition of women's entitlement to equal treatment, in all facets of our life. And it is my deep conviction that we shall - all of us, both men and women, be the better for it.

Canada, on December 10, 1981, became a signator to the United Nations Declaration on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, another milestone in the process of national maturation. The implications of this ratification are far-reaching, for its sweeping purpose includes measures with respect to political and public life, the right to nationality, education, employment, health, marriage, and the family. It will undoubtedly give rise to heightened expectations by all Canadian women.

My subject - Equality of Women in the Workforce, would not be complete, nor could one provide a better departure or jumping off point, than the recent appointment of Bertha Wilson to the Supreme Court of Canada!

What a promotion, and to what a workforce! Statistically speaking, this represents a 100 percent increase of women in a hitherto entirely non-traditional job market. Can you imagine a more occupationally segregated milieu? Well, inspired as we all are by this breakthrough, where do we go from here?

Well, let's begin by isolating some of the problem areas: I recently had the occasion to read an article on the working woman, which began:

> "We are not stupid, we are not unskilled, we are not without ambition, we are not working for the fun of it. What is going on here? How is it that today we still earn less than men, and that the gap is widening?"

In fact, let me point out, Canadian women earn salaries which are on the average, 56 percent of those of the working man.

The question this raises, as we must all now have surmised, is the fundamental issue of equal pay for equal work. Let's go one step further on the road to true equality - to the more advanced and complex principle - that of equal pay for work of equal value.

However, to those who would despair, and by way of reply to "what's going on here", let me cite the recent settlement by this government of the Public Service Alliance Commission Food Service Workers with Treasury Board to the tune of 17 million dollars, including retroactivity! The benefits will accrue to men as well, but that suits me fine - sexuality equality down the line!

In fact, a precedent has now been established respecting equal pay for work of equal value. It cannot be ignored. This landmark settlement should prove to be the catalyst for a giant leap forward. I trust it will serve to be a self-fulfilling prophecy in the most positive sense. Perhaps it can inspire those jurisdictions where legislative commitment is as yet non-existent.

Now, let me turn my attention to another trouble spot — Affirmative Action. Is it working? Compounded by the effects of recession, resistance to this programme remains pronounced. This brings to mind a briefing held recently in my office, on its progress, or more correctly, the lack thereof. I am speaking of programmes which this government has initiated, and to which it has consistently reiterated its commitment. The record here, ladies and gentlemen, is rather bleak; in fact we have not made any substantial inroads. The effects of sexual labelling have proven to be self-perpetuating; we are almost at an impasse.

This is a recent statistical breakdown of civil service figures: women remain 80 percent of the support category, which provides clerical and secretarial services to officer levels. By contrast, they constitute 3.7 percent of senior executives, 6.7 percent of senior managers and 11 percent of middle managers. As to salaries 6.1 percent of women and 26.8 percent of men receive salaries in the highest quintile of earnings; contrast this with 67 percent of women and 26.8 percent of men are in the bottom two quintiles.

As to the private sector, I would be revealing no secrets when I say that the record is bleaker still.

Which brings me to the heart of the matter. Do we go the mandatory compliance route, as our American friends have done? Should we, as suggested in the very comprehensive Dodge Report, go mandatory for the public sector only? Our more outspoken women's groups would tend toward the mandatory route. My own inclination leads me to similar conclusions, for I have yet to be shown that our voluntary programmes have been even moderately effective.

What I should like to say to the private sector is this, while we, this government, are prepared to take the initiative, we should like, as a minimum, to see signs of good faith. Show us, show women, that necessary commitment to the affirmative action principle; show us upgrading and training programmes; show us hiring practices which reflect the merit principle. And what is more - go one step further - and that's the basic underlying premise of the affirmative action principle - that, all things being equal, the woman engineer, plumber, welder, manager, competing with males of similar competence, gets the job!

This is not to be misconstrued as "private sector bashing time". On the contrary, I am prepared to acknowledge that some of the larger corporations have adopted a fresh new look and have redefined their perspectives. A rather interesting new phenomenon appears to be emerging on the commercial/industrial scene. Personally, I perceive it as healthy. It is the woman government liaison officer. She is engaged by chambers of commerce, associations of manufacturers, as well as large private corporations. She is a "sign of the times", for when "women's issues" enter into corporate boardroom cogitations, there is no doubt but that "we have arrived!"

While one can allege that the offices are themselves self-serving, one cannot so readily dismiss the growing visibility of the "women's issues" as a factor in the marketplace. Nor can one deny the increasing awareness of their necessity, both in reaching government and in reporting back to the "boardrooms". And so, another breakthrough for women in the non-traditional job market - placed in highly sensitive and specialized positions in the corporate hierarchy. Let us not for a moment underestimate the power of women, who, now irrevocably and irreplaceably in the workplace, demand their rightful place in the boardrooms of the nation!

This government has provided generous sums of money for retraining programmes. It has resource officers in employment centres across the country. It has entered into contractual arrangements with provincial governments respecting a vast array of courses for non-traditional job training. But what happens when the course is done, the exams are passed, the apprenticeship completed?

Some call it outright prejudice, others systemic discrimination. I would argue that, for the most part, the issue is attitudinal. Attitudes evolve historically; they are a complexity of largely emotional and irrational facets of the human psyche. The stereotypical female of totally domesticated motherhood, devoted to nesting and nurturing is, as with all stereotypical myths, difficult to overcome. To keep pace with the reality of the modern working woman, wife and mother, with her transformation from the traditional version, requires a qualitative leap of the imagination.

And to those obsessed with the problems of combining motherhood and work, I would refer you to Pat Schroeder. When asked how she could be both a Member of Congress and a mother, she replied: "I have a brain and a uterus and I use them both!"

The goal of true independence for women will be achieved by way of economic security. And to those who would seek such independence and security by way of work outside the home, we must structure ancillary support systems which are both viable and reasonable.

52.4 percent of Canadians are women. We are not a disabled minority; clearly, we are a disadvantaged majority! We provide goods and services; we also produce children! As a society, the value we place on healthy future generations goes without saying. The logical counterpart to this equation is, therefore, decent maternity benefits and day care facilities.

Again this government has lead the way. Increasingly, negotiated settlements with public service employees have included generous maternity benefits. Here, postal workers, translators, and clerks readily come to mind. A ministerial Task Force and Inter-departmental Committee is drawing up proposals for a comprehensive policy approach.

An estimated $110 million was allocated to day care programmes in 1980-81 by the federal government, $60 million through the Canada Assistance Plan and $50 million of support through income tax deductions. I trust that the provinces are in tune with this reality, and that similar action will be forthcoming in their areas of jurisdiction.

One cannot leave the subject of economic security without touching on the issue of pensions. Both for the woman working outside the home, as well as those who by choice or out of family necessity work within the home, a decent pension plan must be a priority.

The government has already made public significant proposals to improve benefits for women under the CPP/QPP. It is obvious, as well, that the private sector has been sensitized to the increasing pressures by women for a much improved and more equitable allocation of pension resources. We are speaking of better "drop out" provisions, early vesting, portability, splitting of benefits, and increased survivor benefits.

I urge all women to get into the great pension debate; preparatory for a proposed national women and pensions conference in the near future. May I add, that this government has been instrumental, through an ingenious subsidy scheme, in assisting local women and pensions conferences from which many interesting, imaginative and fruitful proposals have been forthcoming.

I have spoken of government initiatives; of programmes to which we are committed, but in which progress is evolving much too slowly. I have touched on areas of total frustration. So, where do we - as women - go from here? Practically, what can we do today, on the short term, and then, tomorrow for the long term?

What's our action plan? Well, here are some suggestions which I offer for your due consideration.

1) Education: We must get the best today, for tomorrow. We must enter into professional training, into the sciences, into engineering in ever greater numbers. In fact, the trend has already begun. Another first for us at Laval University, Québec, where women constitute a majority in the law faculty. We outnumber men in pharmacy. But not enough of us are into science.

   I have recently read two reports published by the Science Council of Canada called "Who turns the Wheel" and "A Statement of Concern". They provide a fascinating analysis of women students - or absence of them - in the sciences and mathematics. I highly recommend both studies for they emphasize the need for increased counselling and direction to young women. The myth of incompatibility of women and science, women and mathematics, must be dispelled forever.

2) Women and the Chip: Computers are here to stay. The futility of the machine wrecker mentality is incontrovertible; we don't want to fight 'em, so we'll join 'em! And let's get in on the bottom rung, to ensure reaching the top rung first. Micro-

technology need not be a threat; au contraire, it can be seen as a challenge, opening new horizons; for new and better job opportunities.

3) We must avail ourselves of all the special courses and training apprenticeships. And then we get really serious - we get Chutzpah - audacity, gall, motivation, determination, pushiness, aggression. If you haven't got it - steal it, develop it; it's indispensable. Then go job hunting for those non-traditional jobs and don't take no for an answer. Be persistent and tenacious.

   It was Eleanor Roosevelt who said that no one can make you feel inferior without your consent. Don't give your consent; don't contribute to the myth of the modest self-effacing female. Don't be a party to your own demise; we need pride. We must not settle for jobs and working conditions that insult our intelligence and self-esteem.

   Get your foot in the door and then wedge it open!

4) Then there's clause 28 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It's a clear and unequivocal statement of equality. Use it; invoke it; be ever on guard for breaches or violations. Seek redress. Seek remedies where warranted.

Above all, let me caution women to be rational, cool and calculating. Bring to bear upon the last portion of the 20th century all the years of patience, tolerance and waiting. However, we need not forsake our innate good humour, joy, and pleasure in the feistiness of battle. Although deadly serious in our aims, the choice of weapons is ours. Let us be inventive, imaginative, creative; convince rather than coerce; negotiate rather than confront; lobby like mad when necessary, and when necessary, litigate!

WORKSHOP REPORTS

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION

Monica Boyd
Carleton University

All groups agreed that job segregation was an obvious and serious problem that affected most sectors of our society. The problem was perceived not only as one which affected women, but which affected employers through lack of potential productivity, because of employee under-utilization. The problem, noted in one group, is aggravated by today's declining labour market which is seeing an end to the recent expansion in female jobs. Also the view was expressed that the victim must not be blamed - the problem was systemic.

Occupational segregation exists because of many factors. Among them are the lack of skills, which can be attributed in part to the educational system and the socialization process which discourages women from trying different occupations. Many other reasons were cited.

In the discussions, there was a wide range of suggested solutions and a distinction was made between affirmative action and equal opportunity. It was noted that equal opportunity was being offered, but was not effective. A more aggressive intervention strategy was needed. The solutions fall into two basic categories: changing attitudes, and changing practices in the workplace.

In terms of attitudinal modification, a number of issues were discussed by the groups. Literature, applications, and advertisements should be "de-sexed". Showing women in non-traditional jobs was one particular feature that was stressed in recruitment practices. Career counselling was also discussed as an invaluable device in terms of removing a very rigid perception of some occupations as suitable only for females and others as suitable only for males. It was seen as particularly effective in teaching women career awareness and self-evaluation, and pointing out to them what jobs were available and what their structures, advantages, and disadvantages were. It was also felt that women must be convinced of their abilities by women's organizations and by co-workers.

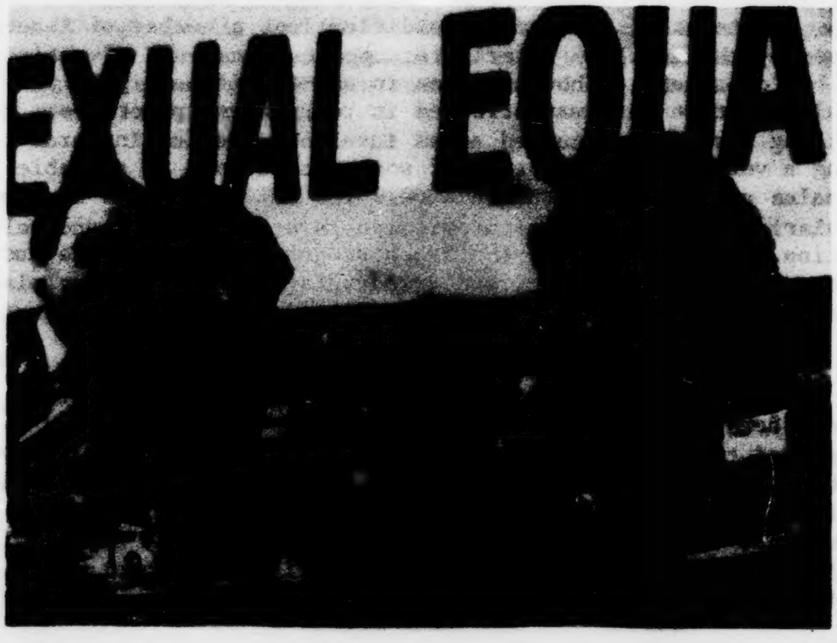
In focussing on employers, there was a discussion that employers need to be aware that segregation exists, that it is a problem, and that desegregation measures can be utilized effectively. Here there was again considerable discussion referring back to the fact that large corporations in many instances do have some programme underway, but that the majority of the women in fact work in smaller firms. To deal with occupational segregation effectively, some strategy to reach these firms must be developed.

Some modification of the educational system at all levels is necessary to change the traditional attitudes. The fact that the media has such a great role in perpetuating the image that women were destined for certain occupations and men are destined for others was also of concern.

Solutions were also suggested in the area of practices in the workplace. Among them changing hiring practices, recruiting methods, and having more on the job training available for women were seen as very important.

Specific bridging measures were discussed such as the creation of positions in which incumbents are there only for a year, and then either return to their previous position, but serve as a pool of eligibles for positions as they open up, or move directly to managerial position.

Although there were many suggestions, concerns were also raised. Consideration must be given to the following issues: the fear of raising expectations which cannot be realized in a specific time; of seeking to fill quotas without proper training, leading to numbers without quality; and of government intervention and increased regulation (which may result in duplication, increased control, expense, and in some companies leaving the country); the cost and time of researching measures properly to ensure success; the assumption that dissatisfaction is universal in the so-called "ghetto" jobs (clerical), and a lack of recognition of the worth of these positions.



RECONCILING WORK AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

Peter Doyle
Canadian Manufacturers'
Association

This workshop was primarily concerned with the changing roles of men and women with a view to assessing the special circumstances of women confronted with the dual responsibilities of family and work.

The basic issues under consideration included parental leave (maternity, paternity, adoption), the issue of child care and alternate working arrangements, i.e. flexible hours, compressed work week, job sharing, part-time and at-home work.

It became clear that the primary concern of the groups was for the provision of child care services. It was generally agreed that child care facilities were inadequate, particularly for children in the less than 2 year range. From there, discussion quickly turned to the question of responsibility, varying from mandatory legislation by government to voluntary action by private enterprise. On the side of mandatory legislation, the view was expressed that child care, like health care and education, is not an option but a necessity. Whereas some considered that day care should be treated as a natural extention of the established educational system, others felt that it should be a joint responsibility of both the public and private sectors with the degree of aid depending upon individual need. One specific suggestion was that a research programme should be launched to arrive at some formula for the equitable sharing and distribution of child care costs and benefits. It was generally agreed that the cost of individually-arranged day care was so high that for most women it would result in either unregulated "bootleg-babysitting" and its potential abuses or would prevent them from returning to the workforce at all, in some cases even forced to remain on welfare. It was conceded by all that a basic change in attitude is needed to erase the assumption that child care is predominantly a woman's responsibility, since both men and women ultimately share its benefits. This change in attitude must take place in order to accommodate the male single parent and his equal need for day care.

Another area of discussion centred around the viability of more flexible working hours, whether instituted on a daily or weekly basis. It was agreed that although the principle of flexible hours was sound for some occupations, on the managerial level where consistent and rapid decision-making was required, this proposition was not considered feasible. In this area, efficiency remained the prime concern of the private sector. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore the advantages of such an arrangement for working parents who desire the flexibility in order better to fulfill the emotional needs of their children.

Parallel to the discussion of flexible hours, the issue of job-sharing arose. It was seen as a viable middle ground between the time-intensive demands of full-time employment and the inadequate benefit package provided by part-time work for the parent, male or female, who wishes to spend more time with their children. Here too, a change in attitude was considered necessary as, although job-sharing is perceived as a feasible alternative for women, for men this option is, as yet, burdened with a stigma.

With regard to part-time work, affecting more women than men, revision was felt to be necessary in the areas of salary (which is low) and pension.

Another topic which stimulated discussion was that of parental leave. Although concern was expressed with regard to paternity and adoption leave, the focus of the workshops remained centred on the specific problems of maternity leave. Perhaps the most disputed point was the issue of payment: that is, who should pay and how this payment should be accomplished. General dissatisfaction was expressed with the current programme as administered through the Unemployment Insurance Commission. Alternate suggestions were put forward as to whether this insufficiency should be remedied through additional funds from the private sector, or through a separate governmental programme. As in the case of child care, the varying abilities of small companies in comparison to large companies to afford the financial and productivity costs of paid pregnancy leave was brought into question, as it would inhibit the hiring of women. In a slightly different vein, the concept of the social value of children was presented, as they provide not only the work force of the future, but also the base of financial support for the preceding generations.

In all the discussion groups, one comment resurfaced again and again: that although many of these issues have been categorized as "women's issues" they are in reality issues of concern for society as a whole: day care must always concern working parents, whether male or female; flexible hours and job-sharing are of advantage to workers, male or female; finally, parental leave should be available for both the male and female parent, without discrimination. These conclusions emerged clearly from all groups, despite differences of opinion regarding approach, means of implementation and results.

EQUALITY AND COMPENSATION

Judith Davidson-Palmer
Wm. M. Mercer Ltd.

There was a considerable range of knowledge regarding the concepts and a diversity of perspectives on the reality and ownership of the problem of equal pay. A number of major concerns were identified. The first was that there was only a vague understanding of the key issues and the participants wanted to be better informed on the whole subject of equality and compensation. There was particular concern on how to measure equal value. Many participants wanted to know how to identify when discriminatory practices were being used and when they were not.

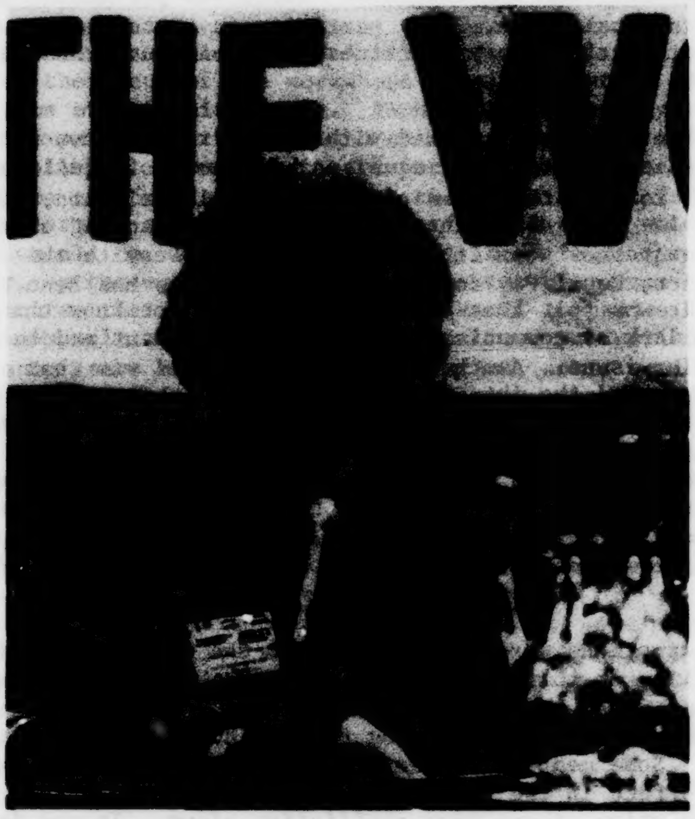
Concern was also voiced with regard to the economic implications for business in terms of equal pay for work of equal value. Groups wanted to know the terms of government legislation, both federal and provincial. They also wanted a better understanding of the act, and what the consequences were for non-compliance. Despite the fact that the Federal Act, Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value has been in existence since 1978, it was felt that many employers did not know that it exists, indicating a lack of communication between government and business on this particular issue. Another problem identified was that industry does not understand the intent of government in this area, and the legislation is seen, in fact, as more government intervention.

Another concern was with regard to the wording of the legislation in Ontario, and it was felt that this allows companies to pay women less than men. For example, employers can define job descriptions to include some requirements for physical strength which would favour men over women.

Suggestions were made throughout the day with regard to facilitating equality of compensation and they were very consistent. They included such things as educating the public and the business community to give them a better understanding of the law, what it entails, and how it can work. Some members suggested a series of forums to look at the act and its effect in the four years of its existence. Regarding further legislation, there were conflicting views. It was felt that representatives of business and industry were not enthusiastic about additional legislation, and that other means should be encouraged. The public sector, on the other hand, supported legislation because they felt it was the only way to get action.

Another suggestion was to reassure business and industry that they were not being accused of deliberate injustice towards women, but rather that biases exist in the system which has been in operation for several years. They felt that evaluation systems should be scrutinized in this regard. This would allow business to discover the inequalities on their own and to rectify the situation to avoid intervention by the government.

Although the suggestions with regard to strategies were limited, they did identify some basic approaches to moving forward. It was thought that representatives of business, government, and education can make substantial progress on this particular issue. The need for communication between the government and the business community was emphasized.



SOCIALIZATION, EDUCATION, AND TRAINING

Jane Gaskell
University of British Columbia

In the area of socialization, the role of parental attitudes and the importance of media images were discussed. It was noted that parents' impact on children is limited as children move into the world outside the home, and that they do not passively receive the traditional stereotypes, that they construct their own views of the world, taking into account the opportunities that they see around them as well as the people. The question of what positive images and roles should look like was raised. Do we want women to be portrayed like men? Do we want men to be portrayed like women? Or do we want some mixture in the middle? Strategies in this area of socialization were difficult to find. The emphasis seemed to be on monitoring the media, making representations to the CRTC, and making sure that textbooks and teachers in elementary school were as non-sexist as possible. There was a fair amount of emphasis in the workshops on secondary schools, and guidance counsellors came in for a great deal of criticism for not giving students an accurate picture of what the work world was like.

The fact that girls take so many clerical courses in high school and that they drop out of sciences and math early and do not take industrial education was deplored. There was a suggestion that women's studies courses would be a good idea in the high school, that math and science should be made compulsory, and that some of the clerical courses within the high school be dropped. Because education is a provincial responsibility, it was recognized that this would be difficult. It was therefore suggested that funding might be provided to women's groups to collect and prepare career awareness materials and to take these into the schools. It seems an effective way to work with both teachers and guidance counsellors. It was also suggested that we communicate the concerns of people at this conference to provincial ministries of education.

At the community college and university level it was emphasized that not enough women are going into technical and industrial areas where there is a shortage of workers. Some suggested initiatives included counselling again, information gathering about where there are in fact shortages, the funding of women's groups to monitor and press for changes, particularly at the community college level, and the necessity of business communicating their willingness to hire women who go into these programmes.

Job training and re-training was seen as especially important because in today's world, to keep up, it will be necessary throughout our adult lives. Also, at a time when there is little new hiring, the efficient use of existing workers requires the provision of training opportunities on the job. Many of the large companies that were represented have an extensive programme of in-house courses and external courses that they pay workers to go and attend. It was consistently emphasized that these programmes are expensive and there was some suggestion that the government might share the costs.

Some employers, though not all, saw a problem in getting women to apply for the training programmes that were set up. Some firms seem to have some success in encouraging women with career awareness workshops which include the opportunity for women to assess their own goals, to make career plans, to consider alternative forms of work, to deal with time budgeting that involves the home and work, and other matters. As in other workshops, yearly job appraisals were seen as opportunities for career counselling.

It was recognized that there were many difficulties facing women, that employers should voluntarily improve women's access to their training programmes, and that they be publicized more. Private firms would like financial help with their job training programmes and this might be used to encourage them to provide more access for women. Many women work in small firms with no on-the-job training programmes. Government training programmes can therefore be very important.

CEIC programmes are being revised in a new training act and not many people in the workshops seemed to be very familiar with its provisions. The figures for women's participation in CEIC programmes remained low but stable since they began around 1965, until recently when new strategies involving targeting of women had been brought into place. Places in training programmes in non-traditional areas are now reserved for women, a differentiated wage subsidy is provided for employers hiring and training women in non-traditional areas, and counsellors are given targets for the number of women that they refer to non-traditional training areas. There was some concern about the way that these targets were being used and that unqualified women would be put into non-traditional training just to reach goals. However, there was a lot of support for encouraging counsellors to give women realistic job information and to encourage non-traditional choices.

Discussion

For many of the conference participants, assigning priorities to the problems highlighted in the workshops was a major concern. Everyone was aware of some of the difficulties involved in such an exercise as the magnitude of each problem is so great and they are very interdependent. One cannot be solved in isolation, and yet to tackle all at once would require many resources.

Monica Boyd pointed out that the client group under discussion, that is women, is a very diverse one and is essentially made up of many sub-groups: there are single women, married women, working women, women with children, etc. She felt it was necessary to identify the sub-groups clearly and determine what their needs are.

The fact that so many women in the labour force are in active child-rearing years led many to elect child care facilities as the first priority. It was recognized that there was a genuine shortage in this field and many facilities that we now have need upgrading. Who would pay was discussed briefly, but no consensus was reached.

Judith Davidson-Palmer saw child care not only as a women's issue, but more importantly, as a social one. She felt that children should not be seen as a liability for women in the work force because they are "the human capital of the future".

One participant supported the issue, but only as a secondary goal. Without giving a higher priority to systemic change, job desegregation, and equal pay for work of equal value, he could only foresee the improvement of child care facilities as a way of freeing women to enter or remain in low paying occupations.

Acting as a catalyst, Dr. Ray reminded participants that quite often it is suggested that equality between the sexes is a matter of changing current attitudes which would take many years. She asked if there were any measures that could be taken in the interim period.

Judith Davidson-Palmer said much thought had been devoted to changing behaviour instead of attitudes, and that this was one reason that legislated affirmative action has been considered and that companies have voluntarily promoted such programmes. As an example, she noted that someone who has never experienced having a female manager is far more likely to be negative about it than someone who has. Behavioural changes at the individual and corporate level are necessary and will lead to attitudinal changes as well.

Monica Boyd felt it was necessary to alter some of the current processes that have resulted in occupational segregation and unequal pay for work of equal value. She stressed that attitudes are not the only factors and that there are many useful strategies that can be used now to produce results in the shorter term. On-the-job training and other training geared to labour demands were singled out. Having women in managerial positions, job restructuring, and mobility opportunities were also seen as useful.

Jane Gaskell underlined the importance of successful working women as role models, not only for teenagers, but for other women. She also stressed that no one should become set in their ways; the ability to change and adapt to evolving environments, be they at work or at home, is also necessary.

One participant felt that the unions are responsible for a great deal of the attitude and that union leaders must strive for responsible leadership. Continuing on the topic of unions, many agreed that women should join their unions and participate in them.

This brought the discussion to the seniority system which was considered a major stumbling block to many affirmative action measures. However, some business representatives did not see it as being such a problem mainly because it was a current system, but not an absolute one.

Dr. Ray ended the session on a very positive note and the audience agreed unanimously that we should continue our efforts to promote sexual equality in the workplace.

A RECAPITULATION

ADDRESS GIVEN BY LORNA MARSDEN
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

The basic facts concerning Canada's labour force tell us that we face a turning point in our industrial development and growth. Not only are industries and governments being asked to adjust to a new international situation of trade and finance, but individual employers must adjust to a new type of labour force in their establishments.

At a recent conference organized by the Financial Post on new technologies, one speaker offered a slogan to describe the manner in which new technologies can maximize the opportunities for Canadian industry: "Think nationally, act locally". In terms of the labour market, it is also the way in which people who want to work and employers who want their work can think about the next few years.

In the labour market upon which anyone who wants workers draws, and in which the rest of us sell our labour in Canada, there is a new mix of skills, of workers, and of styles of work life, as well as working conditions.

With respect to the sexes, we know that the situation has been changing for a long time. A much larger proportion of women - especially married women with young children- are in the labour force and a smaller proportion of men are employed. But having said that, we need to look at the breakdown of the labour force in terms of the individual establishment in its local labour market context.

Over the past three days, we have faced some of the issues which arise from 'thinking nationally and acting locally'. If we want a modern working force in Canada, and if we want to maximize economic opportunities for Canadians with a minimum of social and industrial conflict, then the questions you have all been struggling with over the course of this conference have to be resolved and studied. Everyone here has the power within their own system to bring about positive changes that will improve their place of work and therefore our country. What has been accomplished to bring that goal closer to achievement? What is the process by which one can accomplish these goals?

I cannot resist commenting on how one goes about such a task. Dian Cohen's statement that if women were distributed in the occupational structures in the same proportions as men, their unemployment rate would double, is one of the most interesting -indeed remarkable- statements I have heard for some time. Yesterday, I spent consulting sources at the University in an attempt to locate the study on which she drew to come to that conclusion. I was not able to track down her source, but I did look at a lot of labour force projections in the course of my search. The Ontario Manpower projections, for example, show a negative rate of unemployment for women in 1985 - a rather optimistic scenario, I'm afraid. But at least we know the assumptions about the economy on which such a projection rests. I can only assume that Cohen's statement was based on a straight-line projection - a dubious method at the best of times.

So I took her statement to my students to see what their reaction would be, or if any of them had heard of her study. My students, being bright and knowledgeable, were puzzled. As one of them said, "If men had babies in the same proportion as women, they would have miscarriages at the same rate as women". Or as another put it, "What's the point of a straight-line projection when we are quite capable of dealing with social probabilities for change and when we know so much about how social and economic change really occurs in this country. We know what is likely to change, how it is likely to affect organizations and families, and how social and economic negotiation takes place". (This shows what a lively group of people are studying at the University of Toronto and I recommend them to you as employees.) It also describes what happened at the executive session this morning. We dealt in social probabilities and realities. We looked at the positions that business and government actually hold about the issues under discussion at this conference and what they are really likely to do about them.

The executive session made three assumptions: that there is a real problem for female workers in all the areas identified in this conference (equal pay and remuneration, segregation, family and work life, and education and training); that action can be taken by employers, by unions, and by governments that will change the situation over a forseeable time frame; and that voluntary action is always preferable to state intervention, if it works. We also agreed that there would be no attribution of comment from any participant in the session. That is, no one at that session will tell you who said what.

Who participated? The session involved representatives of large private sector employers, of federal and provincial governments, but no labour representatives (which was much regretted since seniority was seen as one barrier to improving the situation of women), and no small business or municipal governments.

But the session was a positive one, not only because there were such positive and pleasant people around the table, but also because everyone of the large company representatives who spoke described some kind of programme already in place inside his/her company. All have an equal opportunity programme, or an affirmative action programme, or some way of increasing the opportunities for the incorporation of women into non-traditional work and advancing women throughout the company.

What was decided? It is my task to summarize to you the main ideas that came from the session. I have done it very quickly and at quite a general level and in no particular order.

1. There is a central contradiction in the perceived "threat" of affirmative action. That is, some employers felt uncomfortable with the minister's statement that legislated affirmative action might occur. But the contradiction is that affirmative action is always "legislated" at some level. If it comes about because an employer decides to set goals and targets then it is legislated at the level of the employer. If it comes through a collective agreement, then it is equally mandatory. If it comes through legislation by any level of government, then it is mandatory at that level. That is, the question is what is the appropriate level at which the "mandatory" action should be taken. There was disagreement with some participants believing that it must come at the level of government, and others holding that it should be at the level of the firm.

2. The need for a proper economic analysis of these issues stood out as a universal concern. The economic consequences are not well understood. These sub-issues emerged.

a) Cost-benefit: What is the relationship between the introduction of programmes to improve the situation of women in a firm and the "bottom-line"? Some employers talked about the management concern for the "bottom-line" quite appropriately, but since no one seems to know how it would be affected, it is clear that we need more attention to this sort of information.

b) Public-private Goods: This is an issue especially in relation to the needed child care programmes. Should companies develop child care centres directly or should they come through the tax system? What is the best way to deal with that area of concern and benefits? More analysis of that issue would be appropriate and helpful in decision-making.

c) Labour Force Information: Most emphatic of all needs is more information about who is available, what sorts of skills and training workers have, and where they are located, if any employer - private or public - is to develop workable targets and goals.

3. Affirmative Action: One of the more interesting observations I made of the discussion was the extent to which the firms who are multi-national referred to the legislated affirmative action of the United States as the measuring stick for their own performance. Again and again, representatives would say, "Our firm has reached X level in the United States and we've reached Y level through voluntary programmes". Clearly, the performance of American firms under federal legislation there has become an indicator of performance in this country. That does not mean that the American levels are adequate or desirable, but it does mean that they are having an impact on the performance of firms in Canada.

4. Who speaks for the constituency? The issue of "who speaks for women" arose. It is clear that there is a diversity of opinion among women about these issues. Women are capable of the full range of human

behaviour, and no one voice captures the view of them all. But that is equally true for business and for labour. Who speaks for business? We heard a wide range of opinions this morning (and unfortunately heard no opinion of labour). This led to the conclusion that conferences such as this one are very useful because they provide a forum for the wide variety of voices in each constituency to be heard. One participant suggested another conference sponsored by the private sector. It becomes clear that in conferences issues can be negotiated, terms agreed upon, information about in-house programmes exchanged and explained.

5. Action: A wide variety of actions that have been taken were described and a number of problems upon which action by government and business is needed were identified.

a) Recruitment of Women: A positive recruitment programme in which the company identifies the women it wants as students and then hires them into the company was contrasted with a passive approach to recruitment in which the company says "we need engineers and technicians" and then sits and waits for them to turn up. Clearly a positive recruitment programme has paid off for many companies.

b) Numbers Identified In-house: Clearly every company and government represented has the numbers on which it bases its recruitment and advancement programmes. But is there a most efficient way to develop those numbers on which targets rest? It was encouraging to know that numbers have been identified, but more work is needed on the most efficient way of building them and using them by employers - public and private.

c) Tuition-Rebate Programmes: Since a major complaint was the lack of skilled workers and female (and male) workers in the areas of need, a tuition-rebate programme for workers already in the firm was described and shown to be successful and useful.

d) High School Women: Employers reported a very poor response from their efforts to recruit high school women into taking mathematics and sciences and being interested in non-traditional jobs. This point needs to be addressed forcefully to those in the educational sector. Efforts by governments and employers in this area are not paying off.

e) Forecasting: It is clear that employers -public and private- need to forecast their needs for workers of different types more accurately in the short and long term. It is no good to educate and "skill" workers one way and then not be able to employ them. Better and more accurate forecasting needs to be done and communicated to the educational and training system.

And on the demand side of the actions that were identified as necessary by the participants:

a) Business Leadership: One very useful intervention was by a private sector employer who argued that business should lead the way in this area. This meant, among other things:

   i) Advertising Intent. Business should let governments and others know what they are intending to do about the problem of women and minorities in their businesses.

   ii) Business should deal with the problems in their own establishments and let employees and the rest of the world know what they are doing to overcome them.

Someone described public and private sector people as two solitudes, with different interpretations of the situation and a different definition of goals and objectives and even the concepts that are used in this area. But I felt that, with the very positive attitudes that were expressed by many private sector employees in this session, those solitudes moved closer together at this conference. There are ledges on which we can build to create new opportunities, to break down discrimination, and to improve our workforce.

Finally, I would like to conclude by drawing to your attention what a remarkable occurrence this conference has been. It would not have been possible even quite recently. And for all the constituencies in this conference, let me draw to your attention how things have changed.

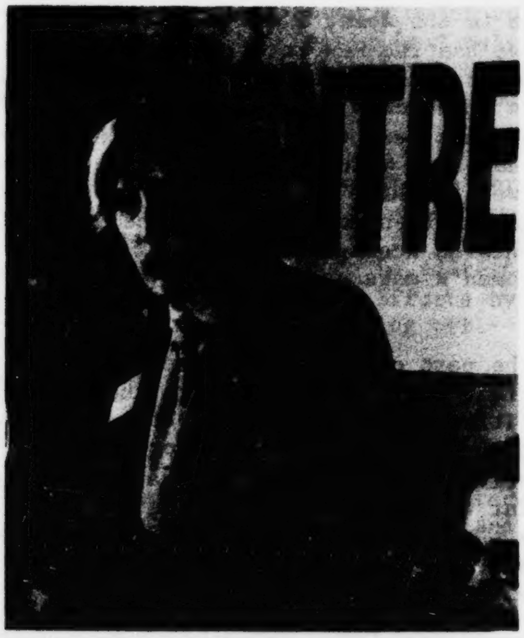
For those in the women's movement, remember that it was only 12 years ago that we had the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and that last weekend the National Action Committee on the Status of Women celebrated ten years in action. That it was in 1975 in International Women's Year that Premier Davis held his conference with employers to set up a voluntary affirmative action programme. Maybe some of you were at his "captains of industry" conference and will see how much ground has been covered since then. So the debate at this conference represents an accomplishment for the social activists and reformers in the women's movement and I pay my respects to you for all you have achieved.

And on the part of the private sector, there has always been a great change - a great coming to terms with the issues, a recognition of social responsibilities and social realities. The issue of the female labour force has been given management priority and a lot of creative attention by the private sector and I congratulate you. Your struggle with the grey collar workers, as someone has described middle management, - the people who have been identified as the greatest barrier to opening up opportunities - is being won. The positive attitudes and accomplishments reflected here today represent a major advance.

And on the part of labour, it is a great regret to us all that the Canada Labour Congress is not represented. But I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Madeleine Parent who was here. She has had a tremendous impact on this issue not only in her direct union work, but in educating women, employers, and everyone else. She has major accomplishments to her credit in bringing about change even among people who do not agree with her objectives.

Finally, I would like to say how much governments have contributed to this process of change. I congratulate the Women's Bureau and Labour Canada for taking the lead, for persisting in this task, for doing the development work to keep the discussion going. This conference represents a strenghtening of the tradition of the bureau. When one compares what has happened at this conference over the one on microtechnology last year, we can all see the difference - the difference in sensitivity to the issues on the part of labour, and business, and of women. And this sensitivity by the Labour Canada people is an indicator of the way in which they will approach change - whatever form it may take. Whether it is legislation, or studies, or programmes, Labour Canada has shown that it hears all voices in the debate and is prepared to listen, to negotiate, and work to bring change.

So I am very optimistic as I leave here today. There will be no solution tomorrow, but there will be a solution for our daughters and sons - a negotiated social change, a non-violent social change, as Monica Townson put it. I congratulate Dr. Ray, Mr. Eberlee, the minister, and all the participants, and look forward to seeing the results in action. Thank you.



PETER

LABOUR
CANADA
WOMEN'S
SEXUAL EQUALITY IN THE

EQUALITY AND COMPENSATION: THE SECONDARY ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PAID WORKFORCE

Lindsay Niemann

INTRODUCTION

Since the time that statistics have been reliably collected, they have shown that women, on the average, earn only two thirds as much as men do. In fact the aggregate figures for relative female/male earnings show little change in Canada during the past 20 years.

Within that timespan, most Canadian governments have enacted equal pay laws. For the most part, such laws are aimed at ensuring that women who do the same kind of work as men are paid the same amount of money. Such legislation has failed to lessen the wage gap simply because most women do not do the same kind of work as most men. Hence the phenomenon of job segregation, an issue which, while it is the major topic of another theme session at this conference, is also a major factor in creating the differences between women's and men's earnings.

Since this paper is designed to focus primarily on the relationship between compensation and equality, it will concentrate on the one major policy initiative which deals with both problems at the same time: that of equal pay for work of equal value, also known as the "equal value" or "comparable worth" concept. It has been proposed that this principle, by permitting comparisons between dissimilar jobs and therefore between job categories dominated by a single sex, ought to improve the wage status of women in the paid work force dramatically. Comparing different jobs requires the use of bias-free job evaluation systems. The role of such systems in proving equal value is a vital element in combatting wage discrimination.

This paper looks at pay equity primarily from the human rights perspective. The emphasis is, as federal law requires, on equal treatment in the workplace of all Canadians regardless of their sex. Both women and men have the same right to work and the same right to be treated in a non-discriminatory manner when working. And where it can be shown that women do work that is equal in value to the work of men, women must be paid the same wages as men. For employers within federal jurisdiction, to do less is a discriminatory practice under Section 11 of the Canadian Human Rights Act.

This paper is divided into two major sections. The first gives some data indicating the dimensions of the earnings gap; describes some aspects of wage differential theory; and concludes with an analysis of the impact of pay discrimination on society. The second section centres on the place of job evaluation as a technique for implementing equal value policies and outlines the experience of the Canadian Human Rights Commission in this area.

EARNING LESS: WAGE DISPARITIES BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

Everyone agrees that women in Canada earn less than men. Nor is the amount of the disparity, as shown by labour force statistics, the subject of much disagreement. Certainly there is some dispute over what causes such inequity; somewhat more over how earnings might be made more equitable; and a great deal over whether indeed women ought to be paid as much as men. Who should bear the cost of equality is perhaps the most contentious issue of all.

The 1970's witnessed a steady evolution in the development of policies and programmes designed to bring equality to women who work outside the home. It can be expected that the 1980's will see even greater efforts by governments to lower the barriers which keep women's incomes down. Recently, Canada has shown greater interest in making international commitments. Canada, for example has:

- ratified Convention 100 of the International Labour Organization concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value;

- participated in the High Level Conference on the Employment of Women held in Paris on April 16 and 17, 1980 by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development; and

- ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women on December 10, 1981.

At the federal level, a new statute has been enacted (the Canadian Human Rights Act); existing legislation amended (the Unemployment Insurance and Public Service Employment Acts amongst others); and a Minister Responsible for the Status of Women has been appointed.

Developments in both federal and provincial administrations have been just as extensive:

- advisory councils on the status of women have been mandated to give independent counsel to governments;

- offices to co-ordinate the development within government of policies and activities relating to women have been established;

- women's bureaus designed to safeguard and develop the rights of women in the workplace have been inaugurated; and

- human rights commissions have provided a place of recourse for those who suffer from discrimination at work.

Many groups outside the public sector have also begun to work towards promoting equal employment opportunity for women and eliminating discrimination against them. It would be hard to imagine that such events as union commitment to the maternity leave clause in recent contract negotiations or the impact of the women's lobby on the constitutional Charter of Rights and Freedoms or even the voluntary compliance of private enterprise in establishing affirmative action programmes could have taken place as recently as ten or perhaps even five years ago.

However, to return to equal value, some labour market theoreticians claim that this kind of indirect discrimination really has its roots outside the parameters of the labour force but at the same time it is perpetuated within it.

> Neither supply factors, such as relative lack of experience and training, nor demand factors, such as the segmentation of labour markets and direct discrimination against women can tell the whole story of the strong persistence over time of women's secondary economic status, even in the face of the dramatic and continuing increase in their labour market activity.
>
> Each aspect is part of the same problem and stems from a common source, involving women in a vicious circle with respect to work experience, human capital accumulation, earnings and unemployment. Attitudes based on an outdated perception of reality still prevail, and in fact permeate our laws and institutions. Thus the "normal" role for a woman is still seen to be that of a wife, sometimes out of the labour force entirely, but in more recent years, more typically a secondary worker with substantial non-market responsibilities. Women are still conditioned to expect to spend at least some portion of their working lives outside the labour force, and are implicitly and explicitly discouraged from investing heavily in market-oriented skills and career preparation. Direct discrimination against women in the labour market as well as institutional arrangements that treat men and women differently reinforce these effects, and help to make the socially conditioned expectations of secondary economic status a self-fulfilling prophecy. (Lloyd and Niemi 1979: 12 and 312).

Earnings Differentials

The figures which follow are taken from the annual Women's Bureau publication, Women in the Labour Force, and from Statistics Canada compilations. Due to the exigencies of using existing tables, the years for which data are presented are not always directly comparable. The gist of the argument may, however be deduced.

One of the more interesting tables produced is that which shows the differences between the earnings of men and women who were employed for the full year (both in a full-time and part-time capacity) in terms of actual and constant dollars.

Table 1

Average Earned Income of Full Year Employees in Actual and Constant Dollars, Canada 1971 to 1979.*

	Average Earned Income (Actual $)			Average Earned Income (Constant 1971 $)			Female Income as a Percent of Male
Year	Men	Women	Difference	Men	Women	Difference	
1971	8 646	4 785	3 861	8 646	4 785	3 861	55.3
1972	9 455	5 166	4 289	9 022	4 929	4 093	54.6
1973	10 223	5 705	4 518	9 071	5 062	4 009	55.8
1974	11 683	6 537	5 146	9 346	5 230	4 117	55.9
1975	13 472	7 564	5 908	9 727	5 461	4 266	56.1
1976	15 394	8 447	6 947	10 338	5 673	4 666	54.9
1977	15 818	9 143	6 675	9 837	5 686	4 151	57.8
1978	17 404	10 098	7 306	9 934	5 764	4 170	58.0
1979	18 468	10 609	7 859	9 659	5 591	4 068	57.9

*Source: Women's Bureau, Labour Canada.

Over the nine year period women closed the gap by exactly 2.6 percentage points despite the existence of equal pay laws.

Participation Rates

The most outstanding feature about the participation rate of women is the rapidity with which they have increased their share of the labour force. Table 2 historically documents this rise.

Table 2

Female and Male Labour Force Participation Rates, Canada, 1901-1976*

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1976
Females	16.1	18.6	19.9	21.8	22.9	24.1	29.7	39.9	44.8
Males	87.8	90.6	89.8	87.2	85.6	84.0	78.1	76.4	75.6

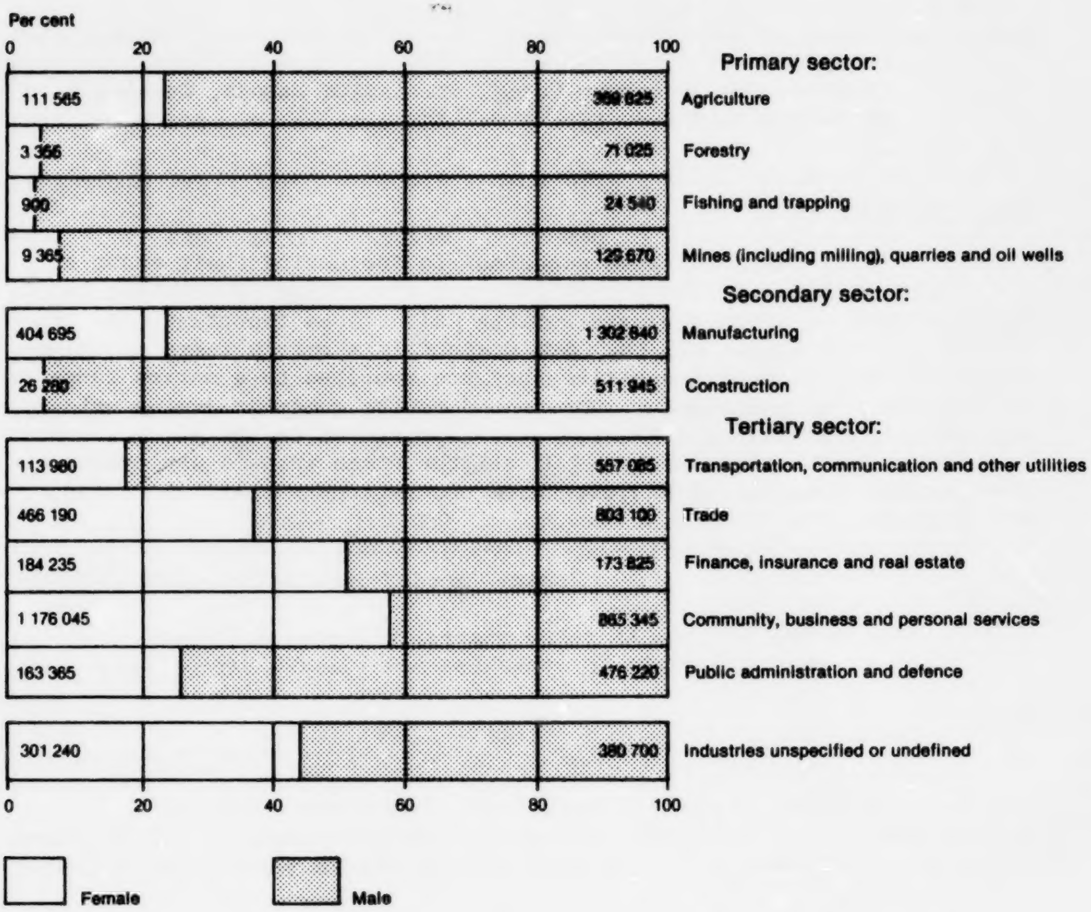
*Source: Canada's Female Labour Force, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 98-804E, Table 1.

Occupational Structure

While women may have succeeded in increasing their share of the labour market, it is not just the fact of working, but rather the kinds of jobs in which they are working which is so important. As the following chart indicates, they are trapped in a narrow range of industries and within those industries they are confined to a narrow range of occupations. They are under-represented in the goods-producing primary and secondary sectors and greatly over-represented in the service areas comprising the tertiary sector. Of all the women in paid employment 60 percent are concentrated in just three occupations: clerical, sales, and service.

Chart 1

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Females and Males 15 years and Over in the Labour Force, by Industry Sectors and Divisions, Canada, 1971



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*Source: Canada's Female Labour Force, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 98-804E, Chart 9.

Although this a somewhat gross example of the job segregation phenomenon mentioned earlier, it does give some indication of the extent of the problem.

Wage Differentials and Economic Theory

Although there are numerous theories aimed at identifying the reasons why women earn less than men, they fall basically into two categories. The first group postulates that the gap is caused by the difference in human capital accumulated by each sex. The second assumes that the differential is due to the existence of discrimination somewhere in the employment process itself. In both cases the variables involved are interrelated in a very complex manner as has often been pointed out.

> Male-female earnings differentials might arise because of differences in labour market productivity or because of discrimination, which is reflected in wages varying systematically with sex rather than with contributions to economic output. Productivity differences may result partly from past discrimination of pre-labour market conditioning...(Cook 1976: 119).

Human Capital Theory

The economists who have developed the human capital theory assume that the productivity and the associated pay levels of women and men workers is different because women and men bring different qualifications to the labour market. Women are assumed both to have lower education levels when they enter the work force, and not to invest in on-the-job training since their participation in the work force is sporadic. Since the approach concentrates on the attributes of the worker (age, education, experience etc.), it is often characterized as supply-side theory.

Discrimination Theory

Economic theories that acknowledge the existence of discrimination as a factor in wage differentials began surfacing in the late 50's in studies investigating the role of racial discrimination in contributing to the low wages received by Blacks in the United States. These early studies identified the accepted factors determining wages; estimated the extent to which differences in these factors explained differences in the relative wages of Blacks and Whites; and then, by isolating the percentage of the difference which could not be explained, arrived at an amount, the residual, which was attributed directly to discrimination.

The most interesting feature of discrimination theories from the human rights point of view is that the existence of discrimination is taken as a given. The analysis is directed at establishing how much of the wage differential is due to discrimination and how much can be attributed to other factors. In effect, both theories accept discrimination against women as a fundamental tenet. The only difference is that human capitalists assume that the discrimination takes place as a result of female patterns of socialization while discriminationists assume pay structures to be inherently discriminatory.

Testing Discrimination Theory

So far, all testing of discrimination theory has been indirect in that the fraction of the wage gap remaining after all other factors have been accounted for is attributed to discrimination - thus the issue of residual discrimination mentioned above. Given the differing legislation in the two countries, this factor has assumed greater importance in the United States than in Canada.

It is unlikely that the variation in earnings reflects inherent differences in the abilities of women and men to work. The results of discrimination theory research have succeeded neither in adequately explaining the origins and persistence of wage differentials nor in accurately quantifying the discrimination factor.

Furthermore, the gross aggregation of data used in these studies tends, in itself, to intensify discrimination against the individual by perpetuating the myth of the average woman worker.

> Individual women, however, may still be seen as being discriminated against in that they are judged and compensated on the basis of group averages, which underestimates their actual individual productivity. (Lloyd and Niemi 1979: 200).

It may well be that the problems lie not so much with the techniques used in wage differential research as with the calibre of the data to which those techniques are applied. There has been a trend in recent years towards 'decomposition' studies in which attempts are made to break down aggregate figures into more useful blocks of information. Some experts advocate the use of microstudies - analysis of the characteristics of small populations of workers in a single establishment - as being the most accurate method of eliciting information about discrimination.

In any event, the kinds of data now collected and the way in which the statistics are categorized make them basically unsuitable for use in wage differential studies. Experts in the field of equality of remuneration, meeting at the ILO in Geneva in 1974, made the following observations about statistics and wage differentials:

> Statistics that can be used to measure trends in the level and composition of women's earnings, the differences in wages between men and women for work of equal value, and progress made in applying the principle of equality of remuneration should be developed. To this end, governments should carry out, by means of appropriate statistical methods, regular national wage-structure surveys,

> giving distributions according to such factors as sex, skill levels, age, seniority, industry and size of establishment. (ILO 1974: 110).

Overview: Cause and Effect

Ever since women workers entered the labour market they have been crowded into those low status occupations which mirror their roles in marriage and the home. Because the labour supply is greater than the number of jobs available, pay levels are kept down. Thus pay systems based on current labour market conditions reflect both past and present discrimination.

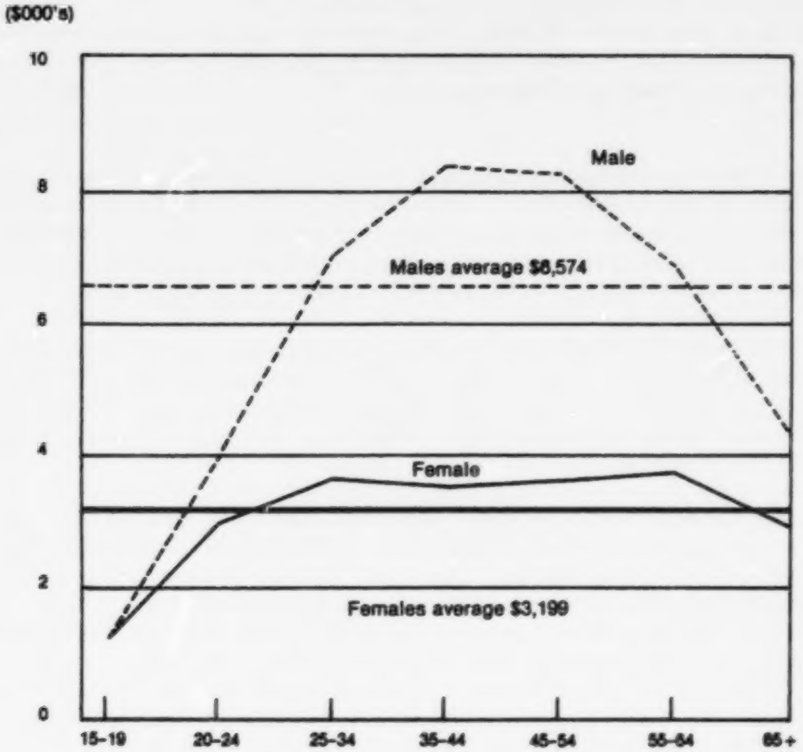
> ...the practice of setting salaries according to job families is a sure way of producing sex-biased results. It is clear that the marketplace is biased against women; therefore, to use the marketplace as a basis for paying clerical workers less than maintenance workers, for example, is to perpetuate discrimination.
>
> To the extent bias does exist in the marketplace, and as long as it remains uncorrected, many women are involuntarily contributing each pay day to maintaining the high salaries which exist in predominantly male jobs. (Industrial Relations Counselors Inc. 1978:91 and 112).

The reason for sex-based discrimination in the workplace lies in the role assigned to women by society long before paid employment became a feature of daily life. The kind of socialization process required of individuals whose primary purpose in life is to keep the species healthy by reproducing, obviously differs from the socialization process necessary for the working life in Western society.

Women in the paid work force are penalized because the human capital they have accumulated is judged to be inferior to that amassed by male workers. Women workers' capital is particularly low in terms of length of uninterrupted time in the work force, a factor which has lasting effects on their chances of receiving on-the-job training or of attaining seniority by progressively taking on more responsibility. The chart reproduced below illustrates the dimensions of the problem.

Chart 2

Average Employment Income of Females and Males who worked in 1970, by Age Group, Canada



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*Source: Canada's Female Labour Force, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 98-804E, Chart 12.

The flatter income curve shown for female workers indicates that women begin to lose their chances at equality with men at the beginning of their prime child-bearing years; attain their peak earning power from 25-34 (a full decade before men do); and for the next 30 years, from 35 to the end of their working lives, work for half the money that men receive.

The effects of this low pay are appalling, both for the individuals involved and for the society of which they are part:

- 40 percent of the 4 613 000 women in the paid work force are there because they have to support themselves;

- 25 percent work because the income of their spouse or co-habitant is below the national average of $15 500;

- 8.5 percent of Canadian families are supported by women alone.

What the chart and these few statistics indicate is the magnitude of the effect produced by sex-based wage differentials. Women are discriminated against whether they go out to work or whether they stay at home working at the one thing that only they can do: adding to the human capital of the nation. In this respect, they suffer a double penalty because they are losers both under economic theories which are based on discrimination as well as under those based on human capital. In the end, it is women and only women who end up paying the costs for the role attributed to them by society as a whole. The real questions then, are these: should not the cost of perpetuating the population be shared equally between men and women? Is it socially just or ethically desirable to penalize women so harshly for making the one kind of contribution to society that men cannot?

Equally fundamental are the ways in which these roles affect the status of women in the workplace. Is there a better way of judging the worth of a person's work, a more rational method of denoting status, than one which relies on the social perceptions of an era long since gone? What is it about the hospital administrator (male) that causes him to be more highly valued than the director of nursing (female)?

NARROWING THE GAP: THE MOVE TO EQUAL VALUE LEGISLATION IN CANADA

What are the implications for Canada of moving from fighting direct discrimination with equal pay laws to using equal value statutes against indirect or systemic discrimination? To recapitulate a little, it was only in 1919 in Canada that pressure for the enactment of minimum wage laws began. It was thought that working women should be protected principally to ensure their health and that of their future children. And even this form of pay protection was jeopardized during World War 2 by the wage arbitration boards which regularly reduced by a third the wage rates of women who worked in particular trades.

The belief that methods of wage determination should be revised resulted in the passing of the first equal pay law in Canada. The Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act, was enacted by the Ontario Government in 1951, not long after ILO Convention 100. By the mid-sixties, it was unlawful in any Canadian labour jurisdiction to pay women differently than (less than) men for equal work, or for the same or similar work. But 30 years of equal pay laws have had little effect on the gap between women's and men's wages.

Then in 1972, Canada formally ratified Convention 100. This event heralded the federal government's change to the human rights approach towards eliminating discrimination against working women. This approach was given further impetus by the awareness fostered during International Women's Year in 1975. That year also saw the advent of the first equal value provision in the Québec Charter of Human Rights. The provincial legislation was followed two years later by the Canadian Human Rights Act and its equal value clause, Section 11.

What has this new approach meant? In the first place, the broader conceptualisation inherent in human rights legislation is leading public opinion towards the idea of equal rights, in society in general and the workplace in particular, and away from the narrow fact of equal pay. Human rights legislation, of course, goes further than equal pay statutes can. It suggests that affirmative action may be necessary to attain equality. Often, too, the amounts involved in settling discrimination complaints suggest to employers that compliance with the law is good business procedure.

From the point of view of compensation, the emphasis placed on equality by the human rights approach implies that it is not only illegal, but also unethical to continue the practice of paying women less than men to work at jobs which have been proven to be equal in value. It also implies that if all citizens have rights, society as a whole is responsible for providing the equal opportunity which allows them to realize those rights.

Proving Equal Value: The Place of Job Evaluation Systems

It has been observed that equal value centres on whether it is possible to measure value objectively, or more precisely, whose standards ought to be used to measure it: those of management or those of labour. However, the fact that value may elude objective determination does not really provide an excuse for continuing pay practices which consistently disadvantage the same groups.

It is interesting to note that ILO Convention 100 required that "...measures shall be taken to promote objective appraisal of jobs on the basis of work to be performed" and that "...the methods to be followed in this appraisal may be decided upon by the authorities responsible for the determination of rates of remuneration or, where such rates are determined by collective agreements, by the parties thereto." Thus the ILO conference that approved that convention, the government, business and union representatives present in Geneva 30 years ago, agreed that the value of jobs could be measured and that the way to do it was to perform an objective appraisal of the work required by a job.

Today, job evaluation is something of a growth industry in the field of management consulting. Certainly the move towards equal value in Canada and to comparable worth in the United States has provided some incentive. But perhaps of more relevance, in times when more must be done with less, is the realization that proper evaluation of the work function can lead to increases in productivity.

Job Evaluation: What It Is and What It Is Not

Most sources agree that the goal of job evaluation is to establish an objective ordering of jobs relative to their worth. Although the details of design and implementation may differ, most job evaluation systems are based on similar logic and use a common methodology.

> ...all the jobs in the unit being analysed (firms, division or other) are described; the descriptions are then rated or evaluated according to one or more 'compensable factors' (features defined as legitimate bases for pay differentials); the ratings are added in some way to create a total score, sometimes called a job worth score; and the scores are used - sometimes alone and sometimes with other information - to assign the jobs to pay classes. (Treiman and Hartmann 1981: 71).

What job evaluation cannot do is establish a common standard against which all jobs in the workforce can be measured. Nor should it be expected to do so. Western industrialized society and the labour markets within it are extremely variable. Value judgments on relative worth are inevitably made and will just as inevitably vary from place to place. All that human rights legislation requires is that the variability due to value judgments not be based on the personal characteristics (sex, race, religion, etc.) of individuals or groups of workers.

Issues and Concerns

The foregoing does not imply that obstacles to the implementation of equal value do not exist. The discussion paper published by the Ontario Ministry of Labour in 1976 addressed the following:

- increased governmental intrusion in the marketplace;
- the limitations of job evaluation techniques;
- increased costs to the employer for implementation and to the government for enforcement;
- interference in the collective bargaining process; and
- disruption of the allocation of labour among industries, employers, and regions.

During the five years which have elapsed some of those obstacles have either been overcome or partial answers have been developed. Experience with the federal legislation has shown that neither government regulation nor cost is, at this stage, excessive. Job evaluation systems are improving immeasurably, due, in great part, to developments in the private sector. Interference in the collective bargaining process means only that a new bargaining floor has been set to guide trade unions as well as management on the rights of working women. Nothing precludes bargaining which builds on that new floor. The effects on the allocation of labour are not yet great enough to permit assessment. Yet resistance to equal value has grown, as the reaction to Bill 3 introduced into the Ontario Legislature on March 8, 1979, indicates. Bill 3 was intended to amend S.33 of the Employment Standards Act to change equal pay for substantially the same kind of work to equal pay for work of equal value. It was referred to the standing General Government Committee for Hearings and 50 briefs were received, 34 in favour of and 16 opposed to passing the legislation. Amended and passed in committee, the bill was never brought before the Legislative Assembly for third reading.

Equal Value: The Canadian Human Rights Commission's Experience

The Canadian Human Rights Act was proclaimed in mid-1977. It was soon realized that one of the more difficult areas of implementation would be the equal value clause, Section 11. Consequently, the commission appointed a Task Force on Equal Pay in November 1977 to study the implication of administering that section. The Report of the Task Force was presented to the commissioners in February 1978 when it was decided that consultation with federal jurisdiction employers and unions as well as women's organizations would be held in May to receive the views of interested parties. From these various sources the commission resolved on definitions of some key words and drew up guidelines to assist it in administering Section 11.

Equal Wages Guidelines

Equal Wages Guidelines were issued (under the authority of S.22 (2) of the act) late in 1978 and are binding on the commission, any human rights tribunal and on any review tribunal until revoked. The guidelines enlarge on the nature of the four standard criteria (skill, effort, responsibility, conditions of work), a composite of which is to be used in judging value. In addition, the guidelines identify seven factors which may be used to justify differences in wages. Two more factors were made the subject of guidelines in January 1982. Canadian Human Rights Commission 1978: 3695-3697, 1982: 309).

The commission has published a working paper, "Methodology and Principles for Applying Section 11 of the Canadian Human Rights Act", which explains in some detail the intentions of S.11 and the commission's approach to its application. The "Employer Guide" published in 1981 defines "establishment" and "value of work" in the following ways:

Establishment

> "Establishment" refers to all buildings, works or other installations of an employer's business that are located within the limits of a municipality, a municipal district, a metropolitan area, a county or the national capital region, whichever is the largest, or such larger geographic limits that may be established by the employer or jointly by the employer and the union. (p.28).

Value of Work

> Value of work is the value which the work performed by an employee in a given establishment represents in relation to the value of the work of another employee, or group of employees; the value being determined on the basis of approved criteria, without the wage market or negotiated wage rates being taken into account. (p.28).

Also of interest is the statement that the Commission will not impose a job evaluation system of its own, but will develop instruments for assessing how remuneration systems are constructed and used.

Canadian Human Rights Commission Case Analysis

The principal employer under federal jurisdiction is the Government of Canada itself. It is not, therefore, surprising, that the majority of cases settled so far have been in the public sector. To date, the commission has settled six equal value cases: three involved group classifications; two were complaints made by individuals; and in the sixth the work of the groups was found to be of unequal value. Sixteen complaints are currently under investigation. Because the resolution of the first complaint involving intergroup comparison is precedent-setting, the following description is reproduced (with permission) directly from material provided by the commission.

> The complaint lodged by the Public Service Alliance of Canada on behalf of the Library Science group (LS) alleged that members of that group were performing work of a value equal to that of members of the Historical Research group (HR), but that they were being compensated at a lower rate. Since the LS group is female-dominated, the HR male-dominated, this disparity in wages was attributed to sexual discrimination.
>
> The investigation of the complaint proceeded in the following manner: development of investigative strategy, definition of data required, the collection and evaluation of job data, the determination of equivalent compensation for all levels of the two groups, the interpretation of data collected and formulation of settlement proposal, and the negotiation of a settlement agreement.
>
> The investigation of the complaint posed a number of problems. The employer used a separate evaluation plan for measuring the value of jobs in each group. Neither plan was suitable for making an inter-

group comparison. It was, therefore, necessary to employ a plan which would measure the value of the full range of jobs in both groups. The complainant, the respondent and the Commission agreed to the use of a point-factor method, the Aiken Plan modified to reduce sex bias. Points were assigned to each job on the basis of skill, effort, responsibility and work conditions.

Since there were more than 700 positions in the two groups, it was not feasible to examine each one; nor was it possible to make direct comparisons between positions. A sample of 25 HR and 31 LS positions was drawn for the investigation of the complaint. Job data were collected by means of questionnaires and interviews with incumbents of the positions and/or their supervisors. The jobs were then rated by the CHRC evaluation committee. When agreed ratings had been obtained for all of the positions whose incumbents had responded, these ratings were related to salary data. Because the commencement dates of the LS and HR contracts do not coincide, salary figures were prorated over a 12 month period to obtain comparable salary figures for the two groups.

To determine whether there was discrimination and, if so, to what extent, it was necessary to compare jobs from each group. Since there are six levels in the LS group and five in the HR group, a direct level to level comparison was not possible. It was, therefore, decided to use simple linear regression analysis to make this determination.

To this end, each position was plotted on a graph with mid-point salaries and evaluation points as the axes. Regression lines were drawn for each set of data points. The vertical distance between the two lines at the average LS rating (292 points) is a measure of the average amount of discrimination for the group.

To obtain the amount required to eliminate discrimination at each level of the LS group, an average point rating for all positions at each level was calculated. In graphic terms, the distance between the point and the HR salary line represents the amount. In mathematical terms, the average ratings were substituted in the HR salary equation and the result subtracted from the present LS salary at each level.

While there is little to support the idea that the costs to the administering agency (CHRC) have been high or that the costs to the employer of examining the two job evaluation systems were excessive, there is no doubt that the costs of eliminating the discrimination, i.e., the settlement costs, were considerable. The issue of over-regulation can hardly be called a serious one since the administrative agency neither initiated the case nor unilaterally imposed an unsuitable evaluation plan. Nor is there any requirement that employer plans be filed with the commission for approval. The way in which the administrative procedures required by S.11 are developing would not, at this point, appear to be fulfilling the concerns voiced earlier by employers.

Finally, it can no longer be seriously proposed that equal value cannot be proven. The success of job evaluation for this purpose seems to have been vindicated.

Comparable Worth/Equal Value

There is a certain amount of disturbance being created currently in the United States around the concept of comparable worth which is generally being considered as the answer to pay equity for women. The United States has had an Equal Pay Act since 1963, but it belongs to that category, typical of sixties legislation, which defines equal pay in terms of equal work. Within the last five years, the idea of using the equal value concept to activate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (which prohibits all forms of wage discrimination and occupational segregation) has gained enormous ground among compliance agencies, notably the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The recent (June 1981) United States Supreme Court decision (County of Washington vs Gunther) upheld the right to bring sex-based wage discrimination suits even though the court did not rule directly on the issue of comparable worth.

Although the goals of the comparable worth and the equal value concept may be said to coincide, since they both seek to redress wage discrimination against women, the implications of administering the legislation differ vastly. Historically, the enforcement of anti-discrimination statutes in the United States has led to heavy government intervention in employer affairs. For example, employers have complained at length and in depth of the paperwork required by government when carrying out affirmative action programmes under contract compliance and remedial anti-discrimination orders. Such is not now the case in Canada and it is hard to imagine that these kinds of regulatory mechanisms will begin to appear given the conciliatory approach adopted federally, not to mention the voluntary one favoured by provincial governments. As it now stands in the United States, comparable worth proponents are taking a hard-line approach to its application, which policy differs markedly from that taken in Canada to date.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Examination of wage differential studies suggests that the data used lack sufficient precision for the results to be of much use. In any event, given that equal value provisions are embodied in human rights legislation (for those employers under Québec and federal jurisdiction at least) there seems to be little point in joining the Americans in trying to factor the amount due to sex-based discrimination.

The Canadian Human Rights Commission and its counterpart in Québec have, after four and six years of experience respectively, shown that equal value cases of wage discrimination can be resolved. Indeed, the results so far suggest that equal value legislation may be the most effective method of eradicating the wage differentials between women and men.

Strategies for Dealing with Reality

How can employers comply with the law in a way which will be beneficial both to their businesses and to their employees? These goals need not be mutually incompatible, especially if change is initiated by the employer rather than the administrative agency. It may seem that the American experience with regulatory procedures and the bureaucratic apparatus required to maintain them is a rather terrifying example of what can happen when equal opportunity policies are made mandatory. There is, however, no reason why Canadian administration of equal value should lead to government intervention on such a scale, especially if the enterprises themselves initiate the process of investigating their pay structures and the way in which these relate to their job evaluation schemes.

Analysis of the results of an American survey carried out by the Conference Board in order to assess corporate experiences with and perspectives on the process of change involved in increasing opportunities for women yielded the following observations:

> Generally speaking, the comments suggest that, due to EEO concerns, thorough going reviews and reassessments of personnel policies and practices have been undertaken, resulting in:
>
> - The modification or elimination of many outmoded or unnecessary procedures and practices.
>
> - The introduction of new procedures and practices, especially with respect to the recruiting of college graduates and also to the operation of the internal labour market.
>
> - The standardization and orderly dissemination of information about all personnel procedures, policies and practices.
>
> - Centralized planning supervision and control of the impact of these procedures, policies and practices on a quantitative basis, at least for managerial and professional employees.
>
> ...In most cases, the companies indicate these changes have been of real value to all company employees - not just to minorities and women - and to management. (The Conference Board 1979: 28).

For federally governed Canadian firms the issue is, of course, somewhat different. Neither contract compliance nor affirmative action are mandatory programmes. On the other hand, equal value is part of a statute and, as a consequence, enterprises ought to have equitable and unbiased job evaluation plans in place. It should now be questioned whether it is better to wait for the law to catch up or whether it is wiser immediately to begin activating reviews of job evaluation plans? Which approach is likely to reduce government regulation and which to increase it?

The guiding concept behind the notion of installing unbiased job evaluation plans is a simple one. Equity in the workplace is good business practice. Labour relations tensions can be minimized productivity and maximized. Certainly personnel procedures will improve. To quote Richard Gwyn in the Citizen (30/01/82): "Doing good, in other words, not for the sake of women, native peoples and the handicapped, but for the sake of profits and economic efficiency."

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OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION: A REVIEW

Monica Boyd Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines occupational segregation in the workplace in light of its implications for sexual equality. Five aspects of sexual segregation in the occupational structure are examined: definitions and dimensions; the level of occupational segregation by sex in Canada's current workforce; its problematic nature; its causes; and strategies to reduce it.

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION: DEFINITION AND DIMENSIONS

The term "occupational segregation" has a number of distinctive meanings which, if not commonly understood, can confuse discussion on the topic. Keeping the distinctions in mind also is crucial for any discussion of policies directed at sexual equality, for any given policy may have an effect on one of these dimensions of sexual segregation in the labour force, but not on others. This section distinguishes between the following dimensions of occupational segregation: horizontal segregation, vertical segregation and sex labelling; occupational access versus occupational outcomes; and occupational and job segregation.

Horizontal Segregation, Vertical Segregation, and Sex Labelling

Occupational segregation is statistically defined by comparing the occupational distribution of men to that of women (1). If men and women concentrate in different occupations, the occupational structure is said to be sex-segregated. The measurement of occupational segregation, then, emphasizes the sex differences in occupational outcomes.

Male and female occupational outcomes can be both different and unequal. Both dimensions are frequent in discussions of occupational segregation. Horizontal segregation refers to the fact that men and women concentrate in different occupations without reference to the relative positions of those occupations in some ranking scheme or hierarchy. Vertical segregation refers to the relative differences (or inequalities) between men and women in the ranking of those occupations in which they concentrate. For example, many of the occupations in which women are found are characterized by a lower level of skill, responsibility, authority, status, mobility, and income than are those occupations in which men concentrate. It is vertical segregation which is viewed as most problematic (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978; Wolf and Fligstein, 1979; Wolf and Rosenfeld, 1978).

If women tend to concentrate in certain occupations while men concentrate in others, then employees in these occupations will be predominantly female or male. The sex-labelling (or sex-typing) of occupations refers to the phenomenon in which women outnumber men in selected occupations to the extent that such occupations appear to be thought of as "women's jobs" (see Oppenheimer, 1968). Sex-labelling is statistically defined as the percentage of workers in a given occupation who are women. To determine if a given occupation is "sex-typed," the percentage for the occupation is then compared against a standard which is usually the proportion of women in the total labour force.

Access vs. Outcome

Measures of occupational segregation focus on where men and women are located in the occupational structure at a given time. In discussions, however, occupational segregation sometimes acquires additional meaning. The term can be used to refer to the fact that males and females have differential access to specific occupations or jobs or to the fact that men and women are in different occupations. These two concepts (equality of access and equality of results or outcomes) are closely related, but they are not the same thing. For example, presidents of manufacturing firms may be predominantly male. This outcome may reflect the different chances which men and women at the executive level have of becoming president (a problem of equality of access), but it also may result even when there is equal access by sex, if the pool of eligible candidates is predominantly male. There is likely a problem of differential access somewhere in the executive/-managerial hierarchy (perhaps in the hiring of managerial assistants or in the promotion of managerial assistants to managers), but not necessarily at the transition point of becoming president of an enterprise. In all discussions of occupational segregation, it is useful to distinguish between the result (e.g., few female presidents) and the process which produces it.

Occupational and Job Segregation

An occupation typically includes a large number of different types of jobs. There may be a high degree of job segregation by sex, within occupations, which is never reflected in the occupational title. For example, women managers may have the same title as male managers, but they may be in charge of different areas of the business. Similarly, in academia, female professors may have responsibility for undergraduate, but not graduate student teaching and supervision. Many discussions of occupational segregation also refer implicitly to job segregation as well.

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION IN CANADA

The Current Situation

As discussed in the previous section, occupational segregation is measured by comparing the occupational distribution of women to that of men. A related measure is that of sex-typing, or the percentage of workers in a given occupation who are female. These two measures are found in Table 1 for 1971-1980 and in Table 2 for 1971.

The data in Table 1 show conclusive evidence of a sex-segregated workforce in Canada. Among the findings are:

1) Men and women concentrate in different occupations. In 1980 nearly two thirds (63 percent) of the female labour force were employed in clerical, service and sales occupations. In contrast, one third of the male labour force concentrated in the three occupational categories of service, product fabrication, repairing and assembling, and construction (Table 1, columns 5 and 6).

2) Comparing the occupational distributions of men and women show that, relative to men, women are under-represented (by a difference of one or more percentage points) in the following occupations: managerial and administrative; natural sciences and engineering; farming; processing; machining; product fabrication, assembling and repairing; construction trades; transport equipment operating; materials and handling; and other crafts and equipment. Relative to men, women are over-represented in the following occupations, teaching and related occupations; medicine and health; clerical; service; and sales (Table 1, columns 5 and 6).

3) The differences between men and women in regard to their occupational distributions can be summarized using the index of dissimilarity which ranges from 0 (no difference) to 100 (complete difference). The index (Table 1, columns 5 and 6) indicates that 47 percent of the female labour force in 1980 would have to shift occupational categories for their occupational distribution to be identical to that of the male labour force (Table 1, columns 5 and 6).

4) Those occupations in which women are over-represented, relative to men, can be said to be female-typed. For example, in 1980 48 percent of all workers in clerical occupations were women and nearly 55 percent of all workers in service occupations were women (Table 1, column 2).

The 21 occupational categories used in Table 1 include a number of heterogeneous occupations. Table 2 examines the pattern of sexual segregation within these broad occupational categories. Many of the observations come as no surprise.

1) In teaching and related occupations, over half of the female labour force is in elementary and kindergarten teaching; males concentrate in university and in secondary school teaching occupations.

2) In medicine and health, 85 percent of the female labour force is employed in nursing, supervising, and related assisting occupations. Men are more likely than women to be physicians and surgeons, dentists, veterinarians, osteopaths, chiropractors, and pharmacists.

3) In sales occupations, nearly two thirds of the female labour force is employed as sales clerks (commodities) compared to less than 15 percent of the male labour force. Men are more likely than women to be supervisors.

4) The tendency for men to be in positions of greater authority is also shown for occupations in the beverage and related processing occupations and in the fabricating, assembling and repairing of textile, fur, and leather products. Most foremen are male.

Other observations may be drawn from Table 2 concerning the intra-occupational segregation of men and women. However, three facts are readily discernible: the general pattern of occupational segregation persists when detailed occupational titles are considered; many of these detailed occupations are sex-typed, that is, many employees are predominantly women or men; and (2) vertical segregation exists in the Canadian workplace. Men are more likely to be in those occupations which are higher paying, have more prestige or more authority e.g., physicians, university professors, supervisors, and foremen.

Occupational Segregation Over Time

What are the trends in occupational segregation? Is today's labour force more or less sex-segregated than in previous years? Both Canadian and American data indicate a slow decline in occupational segregation since the turn of the century (Cohen, 1973; England, 1981a; Lautard, 1977; Siltanen, 1976; Smith, 1978) (3). However, much of this decline occurred before 1951. Table 1 compares male and female occupational distributions over 21 categories for 1971 and 1980. The comparisons of the index of dissimilarity for 1971 and 1980 indicate a negligible change in the magnitude of occupational segregation over this time period. In part, this is because the small increases between 1971 and 1980 in the percentage of women in the managerial and administrative categories were offset by an increased concentration of women in the sales and service occupations.

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION: WHY CARE

Concern with the existence of occupational segregation and interest in desegregating the labour force arises from a variety of motives on the part of both women and employers. Research implies three consequences of sexual segregation of occupations: it reduces the mobility opportunities of women; it results in lower incomes for women; and it can reduce morale and increase job turnover. These consequences make occupational segregation problematic and they are typically cited among the major rationales for desegregating the workplace. These rationales are subsumed under three larger issues.

Inequality of Opportunity

Historically, the legitimacy of the use of the market mechanism to allocate labour has been based on the premise that the workplace offers equal opportunity to all. In principle, the market is blind to particular characteristics such as age, sex, or race, and recognizes only differences in skill and ability. Occupational segregation implies, however, that how and where people end up in the occupational structure is an outcome of their sex in addition to, or perhaps in spite of, their skills and abilities. Departures from full equality of opportunity are considered objectionable, not only because of ethical considerations, but also because they are considered to reduce the efficiency of the economy as a whole. Allocation to jobs on criteria other than skill is, by definition, considered to be less efficient than any alternate form of allocation.

Mobility -- not where people end up, but where and how they move -- is also related to considerations of equality of opportunity. Under the general premise of equal opportunity, men and women alike should experience occupational change in accordance with their skills and capabilities. This is less likely to occur in a sex-segregated occupational structure where sex labelled occupations may have considerable barriers to their penetration by the opposite sex and where sex-specific occupational categories may vary substantially in the levels of promotion and in the extent that bridging mechanisms exist (Wolf and Rosenfeld, 1978).

It appears that occupational segregation may be both cause and consequence of inequality of opportunity. Occupational segregation may be a result of unequal access to occupations and jobs, but, in addition, once in place, sex-typed occupations or job ghettoes tend to reinforce sexual segregation simply as a result of becoming labelled as "women's work."

Economic Inequality

Income inequality is one of the more important consequences of occupational segregation. Canadian data for 1976 (Gunderson and Jain, 1980: Table 5.3) show that women are over-represented in low paying occupations. This negative relation between the female sex composition of jobs and their wages is also observed in many American studies (England, 1982; England and McLaughlin, 1979; McLaughlin, 1978; Stevenson, 1975; Treiman and Terrill, 1975). Occupational segregation then, is a factor underlying the well documented male-female earnings gap (see Gunderson and Jain, 1980). Part of this gap is due to the fact that female occupations rank relatively low on task attributes and training requirements (4) which are associated with high income. Another part of the gap is due to the fact that predominantly female occupations provide less pay than is commensurate with their task characteristics and training requirements (see England and McLaughlin, 1979; McLaughlin, 1978). The latter is equal to, or greater than, the former in accounting for male-female income disparities. Men and women working in "male occupations" earn more than do their counterparts working in "female occupations", even when these occupations are identical in task characteristics and training requirements (see England and McLaughlin, 1979; McLaughlin, 1978).

In addition to earnings, analysts of occupational segregation also note the differential availability and coverage of fringe benefits, the degree of job security, and the risk of unemployment, as issues which emerge for women. Many of these economic outcomes are influenced as well by such things as firm size and industry, but they are tied to the issue of occupational segregation to the extent that female-labelled occupations compared to male typed occupations have lower or fewer fringe benefits, less job security, and/or a high risk of unemployment.

Productivity

Failure to attain potential productivity or loss of productivity represents a final set of concerns over the implications of occupational segregation. Failure to attain potential productivity can be the result of occupational segregation to the extent that the skills and abilities of women remain under-utilized. Actual loss of productivity can occur when lack a of opportunities for mobility and low pay elicit a high turnover and low morale (see Kanter, 1977: Chapter 6).

EXPLANATIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION

What explains occupational segregaton? The possible causes are many and draw from a number of disciplines. This section summarizes the historical and current explanations of occupational segregation. In doing so, it indicates possible target areas for change, if occupational desegregation is to be achieved.

Historical Considerations

The current structure of occupational segregation reflects five interrelated features of industrialization during the late 1800's and early 1900's.

Trade unions organized to exclude women and/or to limit their participation. Protective legislation (directed at women, not men) further restricted the sphere of female work by limiting the hours, the conditions under which women could work, and establishing a minimum wage. In combination, these actions prevented women from finding employment in many blue collar occupations. The immediate rationale, for both trade union exclusion and protection legislation, was the fear that the employment of women would threaten the jobs and wages of men in an economy where a high level of competition for jobs and wages existed and where employers used non-traditional labour (women and immigrants) to break strikes (see Hartmann, 1976; Kessler-Harris, 1975). Changes in the economic and social structure meant the expansion of white collar work in general and greatly increased the teaching and clerical occupations in particular. These occupations, which were not initially dominated by females, became so as a result of changes in the nature of work (automation in the office and, in teaching, the development of integrated school systems and the use of grades in schools) and the lower wages paid to women compared to men, making women attractive as workers to employers (Davies, 1975; Lowe, 1980; Prentice, 1977).

Contemporary Sources of Occupational Segregation

While historical factors explain the origin of a sex-segregated occupational structure, other reasons exist for its persistence. Drawn from a number of disciplines (see England, 1981b), the various explanations can be categorized as follows: those which focus on the aspirations, skills and occupational choices of women compared to men; and those which emphasize the role played by recruitment practices and the organization of work. The first set deals with supply side factors and the second deals with demand side factors.

1. Occupational Choices

This category might also be labelled the "consumer choice model." Occupational segregation is viewed as the outcome of aggregated individual decisions to be in one occupation versus another. Freedom of choice is assumed and decisions to enter a given occupation are seen as a matter of personal preference.

Given these assumptions, the central issue is what leads men and women to choose to be in different occupations. The family responsibilities of women which constrain their time and energy is one answer (see Blau and Jesenius, 1976). Polachuk (1979, 1981a, 1981b) argues that because of their anticipated or existing child-rearing responsibilities, women tend to choose those occupations for which intermittent labour force behaviour is not penalized. Other aspects of family responsibility are also advanced as being responsible for women being in different occupations than men. When husbands move, wives follow, necessitating some deliberation over which occupations ensure likely employment from one place to another. Certain occupations may provide the worker with greater control over the hours worked, making it easier to co-ordinate familial and work responsibilities (Daymont and Stratham, 1980; Long, 1978).

Sex role socialization is another reason given for the differing occupational distribution of men and women. Socialization refers to the process by which individuals learn to behave in certain expected ways. Sex role socialization refers to the learning of sex appropriate behaviours. It includes learning the unstated: that certain occupations are "men's" and certain are "women's." The primary agents of socialization are diverse and powerful: parents, peers, schools, and the media. They communicate and shape the occupational aspirations and expectations of boys and girls. By the time these children are adults, they will have different aspirations, expectations, and often different occupational skills (England, 1981b; Gaskell, 1981; Ireson, 1978). Assuming a link between occupational aspirations, skills and actual occupation, it is not surprising to find that men and women concentrate in different occupations.

These are essentially supply side explanations of occupational segregation. Men and women are in different occupations because they acquire different aspirations and different market-relevant characteristics. Such explanations have numerous critics who question the extent to which occupational segregation can be fully accounted for by sexual differences in work motivations and occupational choices. The criticisms are three-fold. Firstly, empirical research questions Polachuk's argument that women choose occupations in which there is no penalty for labour force exits (Beller, 1980; England, 1982; Zellner, 1975). Secondly, critics contest the related imagery which stresses the centrality of home instead of the workplace for women. They argue that much of the discussion on female aspirations and work preference is based on erroneous assumptions, most notably that men are the breadwinners. (For a detailed list, see Laws, 1976.) Thirdly, critics dispute the voluntarism of the occupational choice model. The argument that occupational segregation is the outcome of women's (and men's) personal choices implies considerable control by people over their labour force experience. It overlooks demand side factors which structure the extent and type of jobs available and recruitment practices.

2. The Workplace

To the extent that workers make occupational choices, they do so within the context of a work setting. Recruitment practices, access to career ladders, and the work atmosphere are all features of the working world which perpetuate occupational segregation.

a) Recruitment of Workers

One explanation for the persistence of occupational segregation is that in hiring and recruitment, women are excluded from certain occupations. Since the favouring of one class of employees over another, without regard to individual merit, is defined as discrimination, the critical question is why are women not recruited for and/or denied access to "men's" jobs? Male worker reaction, employer behaviour, and statistical discrimination are some of the answers.

Male workers can restrict the entry of women into certain occupations either by individual reactions (e.g., harassing female workers; see Braid, 1979) or through the more organized efforts of unions (see White, 1980: 71). According to economists (Bergman, 1974; Madden, 1975; Stevenson, 1978), restricting the entry of women serves the economic interests of male workers since greater employment opportunities and higher wages result when the supply of workers to a given occupation is artificially reduced. Once established, male work ghettoes may tend to reproduce themselves since workers often act as informal recruiting agents through information networks.

Employers, however, do the actual hiring. They may engage in segregative hiring practices because they anticipate a negative reaction from their male employees (Stevenson, 1978). Employers may also hire men and women for different jobs because of perceived differences in productivity related characteristics. For example, women may be viewed as less productive employees because of a perception that they will exit from the labour force during childbearing years or that they will be more responsive than male workers to familial demands which conflict with work responsibilities. This perception and the resulting hiring practices lead to statistical discrimination. In seeking to minimize hiring costs, employers rely on categories of age, sex, race, etc. to distinguish among potential employees, the logic being that differences in group profiles also describe differences between individual workers. Judging the individual on the basis of the average characteristics of the group rather than upon his or her own merits is called statistical discrimination. Using average group characteristics as criteria for hiring (or promotion) discriminates against those women who do not have an intermittent labour force attachment and it ignores the considerable overlap between the characteristics of male and female workers (England, 1981b; Stevenson, 1978; Thurow, 1975).

b) Career Ladders and Occupational Linking

Statistical discrimination segregates men and women not only with respect to occupations but also to career possibilities. The job structure of any given enterprise can be divided into two categories of occupations: those which are filled from the recruitment of new workers from sources external to the firm; and those which are filled internally through the promotion and upgrading of current employees. In the latter category of occupations, a career line or mobility chain exists insofar as job sequences exist which may be specific to a given firm, but may also cross the lines of firm and industry.

Not all lower level positions are linked to a career line; many are described as dead end, implying the existence of few internal promotional opportunities and/or non-existent bridges between that set of occupations and others. In general, the original entry level of the job determines the advancement opportunities open to a given employee. Since the structure of jobs open to women is likely to reflect employer perceptions regarding the average characteristics of women, the occupational differences between men and women to some extent reflect employer decisions to exclude women from certain entry level positions and their promotion ladders (Blau and Jusenius, 1976: 195). This exclusion has consequences beyond segregating women into jobs with restricted promotional opportunities. Occupations or jobs which form career lines are characterized by high wages, opportunities for further training and advancement, provisions for job security and worker stability. By contrast, those occupations and/or jobs with non-existent mobility chains are characterized by low wages, little opportunity for advancement, and instability of employment. There is evidence that administration of work rules in such occupations is more arbitrary and subjective (see Kanter, 1977: 82-89; 159-161). These conditions encourage an unstable work force. In many instances, however, the lack of worker commitment is attributed to the individual rather than to the conditions of work. Critics argue that women are labelled as unstable workers, as if this is a characteristic of their sex rather than a reflection of their jobs (Armstrong, 1980; Kanter, 1977; MacDonald, 1981).

c) The Informal Setting

In addition to working in an administratively defined setting, people also work in a social climate, which is characterized by beliefs, attitudes, and commonly agreed upon ways of handling the job. The work atmosphere can inhibit attempts to desegregate occupations in several ways. First, occupational groups characterized by limited opportunities tend to develop their own status systems and to emphasize group solidarity and membership. A person is under tremendous pressure to remain loyal to that group, and leaving the group, even for a promotion, is regarded as an act of disloyalty. This creates resistence to leave a given work setting (Kanter, 1977: 149-152). Reluctance to leave is also a function of what lies ahead. Women moving out of female-typed occupations into male-dominated occupations confront a culture which is based on an all male work group. Women in blue collar occupations dominated by males may be excluded from networks crucial to learning and/or performing the job. In management, the entry of women has at least two consequences. First, unlike their male colleagues, as women move up the ladder they find fewer and fewer same-sex peers. Tokenism looms as a problem for these women (Kanter, 1977: 151). Secondly, to the extent that male colleagues are uncertain about either the legitimacy or the degree of involvement of women in their informal work world, women tend to be locked into lower level management positions (Kanter, 1977: 49-68).

OCCUPATIONAL DESEGREGATION

Occupational desegregation is implied when men and women exhibit the same pattern of occupational concentration. A related phenomenon is the lessening or disappearance of the sex-labelling of occupations. Operationally, desegregation requires one or both of the following processes: the shift of female workers out of certain categories of occupations into others previously held disproportionately by men; and/or the shift of male workers out of certain occupational categories into those previously occupied by women. Although some attention is paid to the entry of male workers into female-typed occupations of teaching, nursing, and social work, most strategies of desegregating the workplace stress the entry of women into male dominated occupations.

Intervention Strategies

Kanter (1976) identifies three types of strategies used to change the occupational distribution of women (see also Torrey, 1978). The first strategy assumes that men and women differ in their attitudes, temperament, esteem, and modes of interaction and that this leads to intervention which attempts to compensate for deficiencies. This intervention strategy is evident in many programmes oriented toward managerial women, where the emphasis is on training in assertiveness, career planning, and developing a total character profile which is considered necessary for any "successful" manager (see Stead, 1978 for a description of the traits stressed).

The effectiveness of this type of intervention for managerial women is debatable (see Kanter, 1976; 1977) and it is too narrow in focus to affect occupational segregation in general. A second type of intervention stresses expanding opportunities for women by minimizing or removing some of the handicaps which they experience as a result of sex role socialization and child care constraints. The expanding opportunities or role related intervention strategies assume that, by making it possible for women to perform in the labour market as equals to men, the recruitment, training, and promotion of employees will be sex-blind (see Ratner, 1980: 42-43). Strategies include altering the educational system so that women receive more and different training which will make them competitive with men in non-traditional and higher paid occupations. Such strategies are not limited to formal schooling; they also include pre-employment training programmes, particularly post-scholastic training of women in crafts scholastic demanding high skills and getting women into apprenticeship programmes. Readily available child care arrangements are also stressed as strategies which permit women to be continuous labour force participants.

Like management self assertion courses, role related interventions affect supply side factors. The objective is to alter the characteristics or the social roles of women which make them less competitive for jobs vis-à-vis men. These two categories of intervention ignore the structure of the working world, which perpetuates occupational segregation. Structural interventions attempt to modify those demand-side factors which perpetuate occupational segregation. Emphasis is placed on formulating and implementing new policies within work organizations to recruit, assign, train, and promote female employees so that they are not restricted to dead-end, lowly paid jobs. Many of the specific strategies are synonymous with affirmative action measures (Ratner, 1980: 42). Creating lines of mobility out of the lowly paid, dead-end occupations is one major area for structural intervention. Training programmes, job redesign, the creation of new jobs which serve as bridges between sets of occupations (e.g., clerical and managerial assistant) and job rotation are all strategies which can be employed. Flexible working hours (flex-time) also promotes the sharing of jobs and a greater participation of employees in divers situations, thereby enhancing the prospects for women. Finally, when placing women in male-dominated occupations, batch-hiring or the promotion of women may be desirable to avoid the consequences of tokenism (Kanter, 1976; 1977: Chapter 10; 1980; Ratner, 1980).

Scope of Intervention: Inter-firm or Intra-firm?

Firms can have internal sex-segregated occupational structures (male cutters, female sewing machine operators; male managers, female clerks). Here, firm strategies are useful. However they may not be effective if firms are segregated by sex, such that some are disproportionately female and others disproportionately male (Blau, 1975; 1977). Desegregating the workplace requires changes in the occupational composition of the female labour force both within and across firms.

Who Pays?

Occupational desegregation raises the question of what measures should be taken to minimize sexual segregation. It also raises the question of who bears the cost of implementing these measures. Role related strategies are less likely to incur direct employer costs and more likely to be paid for by individuals and/or subsidized by government funding or taxation policies. This, however, does not mean that role related interventions are cost free to the employer since taxation is one method of generating the necessary state revenues. Costs are simply hidden. Structural interventions involve a modification of job structures and/or of hiring, staffing, training, and promotion policies, within organizations. The costs of such policies are more directly felt by an employer, but many of the actions necessary to ensure change within an organization require a review of personnel policies and a collection of information on employees and labour needs, both of which can lead to general improvements in management (Kanter, 1980).

The Timeframe

Intervention strategies vary considerably in the time required to have an impact on occupational segregation. Strategies which involve altering children's socialization practices take the longest, requiring at least a generation. Strategies which facilitate female employment (day care; retraining programmes aimed at non-traditional jobs) require several years to be set up and to have an impact. The time required to have an impact depends on the specific strategy employed, but structural interventions appear to have the most immediate impact, particularly those which are directed at specific hiring, training, and promoting practices by firms.

The Future

Future trends in the structure of the labour market represent a second time dimension which must be taken into account in any discussion of intervention strategies. The Canadian occupational structure is likely to change markedly during the last part of the twentieth century. Some occupations will change in skill requirements (e.g., secretaries and word processors) and/or in number. Any programme aimed at desegregating the workplace must also be informed as to where are likely future areas of growth and shrinkage in the economy (see Employment and Immigration, Canada, 1981).

SUMMARY

Occupational sex segregation is problematic because of its consequences for mobility, economic inequality, and productivity. History, supply side theories, and demand side theories explain its persistence in Canada today. The desegregation of occupations is likely to result from the application of a variety of strategies, involving not only supply side but also demand side interventions. Many of these interventions must be made simultaneously or at least synchronized to have any effect and they must be implemented with both the current and future structure of the workplace in mind.

Table 1

Occupational Distributions for the Employed Labour Force by Sex and the Percentage of Women Employed in Each Occupational Category, Canada, 1971 and 1980

Occupational Categories	Percentage of Female Employment in Each Occupational Category		1971		1980	
	1971 (1)	1980 (2)	Male (3)	Female (4)	Male (5)	Female (6)
All Occupations, N(a)	7 722 025	11 454 000	5 101 815	2 620 210	6 886 000	4 568 000
All Occupations, %(b)	33.9	39.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Managerial, Administrative and Related Occupations	15.7	25.6	6.2	2.2	9.0	4.7
Occupations in Natural Sciences, Engineering and Mathematics	7.3	14.1	4.2	.6	5.0	1.2
Occupations in Social Sciences and Related Fields	37.4	49.1	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.8
Occupations in Religion	15.7	14.8	.4	.1	.3	.1
Teaching and Related Occupations	60.4	57.8	2.7	8.0	2.7	5.6
Occupations in Medicine and Health	74.3	77.2	1.6	9.3	1.6	8.2
Artistic, Literary, Recreational and Related Occupations	27.2	38.4	1.2	.8	1.5	1.4
Clerical and Related Occupations	68.4	78.4	8.4	35.9	6.3	34.3
Sales Occupations	30.4	40.5	11.2	9.4	10.1	10.4
Service Occupations	46.1	54.5	10.2	17.1	10.3	18.6
Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry Occupations	20.8	23.1	8.0	4.1	6.1	2.8
Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related Occupations	1.9	(d)	.5	(c)	.5	(d)
Forestry and Logging Occupations	2.1	(d)	1.3	(c)	1.0	(d)
Mining and Quarrying Including Oil and Gas Field Occupations	.6	(d)	1.2	(c)	1.0	(d)
Processing Occupations	17.8	20.5	5.4	2.3	5.2	2.0

Table 1 (Cont'd)

Occupational Categories	Percentage of Female Employment in Each Occupational Category 1971 (1)	1980 (2)	1971 Male (3)	1971 Female (4)	1980 Male (5)	1980 Female (6)
Machinining and Related Occupations	5.7	5.1	4.4	.5	4.0	.3
Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations	23.7	24.5	9.5	5.7	11.6	5.7
Construction Trades Occupations	.9	1.3	11.0	.2	10.7	.2
Transport Equipment Operating Occupations	2.4	5.7	6.5	.3	6.4	.6
Materials Handling and Related Occupations, N.E.C.	19.6	20.0	3.2	1.5	3.6	1.4
Other Crafts and Equipment Operating Occupations	12.4	18.2	1.9	.5	1.8	.6
Index of Dissimilarity	---	---	47.7		46.7	

(a) Numbers and percents adjusted to remove persons in occupations not elsewhere classified and persons who did not state their occupations.

(b) Percents may not add exactly to 100.0 because of rounding procedures.

(c) Percent less than 0.1

(d) Numbers of workers not given in source table. Figures too small to be reliable.

Source: Statistics Canada 1971 Census of Canada. Occupations: Occupation Groups by Industry Divisions and Sex for Canada and the Provinces (Catalogue 94-736, Vol. III - Part 3), Table 7. Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey Group. The Labour Force, December 1980 (Catalogue 71-001, Vol. 36 - No. 12), Table 70.

Table 2

Percent Distributions for Selected Occupational Categories by Detailed Occupational Titles by Sex and Percentage of Women Employed in Each Occupation, Canada, 1971

Occupation and Title CCDO Code	Percent Female of Total Workers	Percent (c)	
		Male	Female
Teaching and Related Occupations	60.4	100.0	100.0
University Teachers (2711)	16.7	14.1	1.9
University Teaching N.E.C. (2719)	26.4	1.6	.4
Elementary and Kindergarten (2731)	82.3	18.7	56.9
Secondary School Teachers (2733)	44.5	44.6	23.4
Elementary and Secondary N.E.C. (2739)	74.6	2.7	5.2
Other Teaching and Related (279)	50.7	18.2	12.2
Medicine and Health	74.3	100.0	100.0
Physicians and Surgeons (3111)	10.0	30.6	1.2
Dentists (3113)	4.8	7.3	.1
Veterinarians (3115)	4.4	2.0	(b)
Osteopaths and Chiropractors (3117)	3.5	1.2	(b)
Health Diagnosis N.E.C. (3119)	57.5	.7	.3
Nursing, Supervising and Related Assisting (313)	87.7	34.2	84.3
Pharmacists (3151)	23.1	8.9	.9
Dieticians and Nutritionists (3152)	95.3	.1	.7
Optometrists (3153)	5.9	1.7	(b)
Dispensing Opticians (3154)	16.5	1.4	.1
Radiological Technicians (3155)	73.4	2.0	1.9
Medical Laboratory Technologists (3156)	75.5	5.2	5.6
Dental Hygienists, Assistants, Technicians (3157)	76.6	3.0	3.4
Other, N.E.C. (3159)	67.1	2.0	1.4

Table 2 (Cont'd)

Occupation and Title CCDO Code	Percent Female of Total Workers	Percent (c)	
		Male	Female
Sales Occupations			
Sales Occupations: Commodities	30.4	100.0	100.0
Supervisors (5130)	16.7	36.7	16.9
Technical Salesmen (5131)	3.1	1.0	.1
Commercial Travellers (5133)	2.9	9.3	.6
Salesmen and Salespersons, N.E.C. (5135)	21.8	10.5	6.7
Sales Clerks (5137)	66.0	14.5	64.5
Street Vendors, Door-to-Door Salesmen (5141)	49.2	.8	1.7
Newsboys (5143)	7.1	1.3	.2
Service Station Attendants (5145)	4.6	5.1	.5
Sales, N.E.C. (5149)	6.8	.4	1.7
Sales Occupations: Services			
Supervisors (5170)	8.1	4.0	.8
Insurance Salesmen and Agents (5171)	12.4	5.2	1.7
Real Estate Salesmen (5172)	22.9	3.0	2.0
Salesmen and Traders, Securities (5173)	8.5	1.3	.3
Advertising Salesmen (5174)	12.7	.7	.2
Business Services Salesmen (5177)	11.3	.4	.1
Sales, N.E.C. (5179)	15.5	.4	.2
Other Sales Occupations (519)	12.4	5.6	1.8
Food, Beverage and Related Processing	26.0	100.0	100.0
Foremen (8210)	7.4	12.6	2.9
Flour and Grain Milling Occupations (8211)	(a)	3.3	(c)
Baking, Confectionery Making (8213)	68.5	15.4	20.4
Slaughtering, Meat Cutting, Canning, Curing and Packing (8215)	16.1	31.1	17.0
Fish Canning, Curing, Packing (8217)	47.5	8.3	21.6
Fruit and Vegetable Canning (8221)	62.7	1.9	9.0

Table 2 (Cont'd)

Occupation and Title CCDO Code	Percent Female of Total Workers	Percent (c)	
		Male	Female
Food, Beverage and Related Processing (Cont'd)			
Milk Processing (8223)	7.7	4.8	1.1
Sugar Processing (8225)	(c)	.6	(c)
Inspecting, Testing, Grading, Sampling (8226)	40.1	3.1	5.9
Beverage Processing (8227)	7.9	3.5	.8
Other (8228 & 8229)	32.2	15.6	21.0
Fabricating, Assembling, and Repairing, Textile, Fur and Leather Products	70.0	100.0	100.0
Foremen (8550)	27.5	10.4	1.7
Pattern Making, Marking and Cutting (8551)	32.6	16.1	3.3
Tailors and Dress Makers (8553)	73.0	14.3	16.6
Furriers (8555)	48.8	2.4	1.0
Milliners, Hat and Cap Makers (8557)	57.4	.5	.3
Shoemaking and Repairing (8561)	50.3	14.6	6.3
Upholsterers (8562)	14.9	16.7	1.2
Sewing Machine Operators, Textiles and Related (8563)	90.1	14.7	57.5
Inspecting, Testing, Grading (8566)	84.1	.9	2.1
Other (856 & 8569)	70.8	9.5	9.8

(a) Percents may not round to 100.0 because of rounding procedures.

(b) Less than 0.1 percent.

(c) Raw figures for women not provided in source.

Source: Statistics Canada 1971 Census of Canada. Occupations: Occupations by Sex Showing, Birthplace, Period of Immigration and Ethnic Groups for Canada and Regions. (Catalogue 94-734, Vol. III - Part 3), Table 4.

NOTES

(1) S.S. Tangri (1976) offers a more technical definition. "Occupational segregation exists in an occupation when the work force in that occupation does not contain a representative distribution of persons on the major demographic variables according to their proportion in the adult population."

(2) The index is calculated as $\frac{1}{2}$ [Xi - Yi] where Xi is the ith category of a percentage distribution and Yi is the ith category of another percentage distribution. (See Shryock and Siegel, 1971: 232-233).

(3) Armstrong and Armstrong (1978) and Gunderson (1976) also examine trends over time. However, they use the sex-typing of occupations (percent female of all workers in a given occupational category) as their measure, rather than a measure which compares male and female specific occupational distributions at a given date.

(4) In empirical studies, task attributes and training requirements specific to each occupation are measured as:

a) whether the occupation involved working with data, people or things and required talking;

b) the general educational development and specific vocational skill preparation associated with the occupation; and

c) aptitudes such as intelligence, verbal skill, numerical skill, form perception, clerical perception, motor coordination, finger dexterity and manual skill.

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TRAINING, EDUCATION AND SOCIALIZATION

Jane Gaskell Ph.D.

The ways in which the education of women affects their behaviour in the labour force are complex. For women, there is no simple relationship between their collective lack of education and their low status in the work force, as there is for other disadvantaged groups. Women workers are, on the average, better educated than their male counterparts (see table 1). Girls do well in school, are less likely to have learning disabilities, and are more likely to have good marks than boys (Gaskell, 1981a). Despite this, their jobs pay less and offer less opportunity for advancement.

In this paper, I will explore some of the connections between the education and training of women and their role in the labour force, pointing both to ways in which changes in preparation might improve women's status at work, and to limitations in any attempt to rely exclusively on changes in socialization, education, or training. I will argue that the way women are socialized and educated interacts with the opportunity structure they face, both at school and at work, to produce outcomes that channel women in traditional directions and preclude the possibility of equality. Modifying socialization and education without attending to the opportunity structure is not feasible and would not result in much change. On the other hand, changing opportunities for women must involve changes in socialization, training and education, as well as in hiring, pay, and the domestic organization of work.

EDUCATION AND ITS OVERALL EFFECTS ON WOMEN'S WORK

Gross statistics do indicate that education affects women's labour force activity favourably, but less so than it affects men's. Continuing her education increases the likelihood that a woman will participate in the labour force (table 2). Low educational levels discourage women from entering paid work, as the jobs they are able to get are less likely to be attractive and as economically viable an alternative to homemaking. Education tends to decrease unemployment rates for both males and females, although it does so less strongly for women than for men (table 3).

Getting an education also improves a woman's income relative to other women, although they earn far less than men for every year of education they complete (table 4). In Canada, women with university degrees are earning on the average less than men with some high school education. Featherman and Hauser (1976) found that the earnings benefit of an additional year of schooling in the United States was $279.00 for males and $81.00 for females in 1962 and it increased to $406.00 for males and $180.00 for females in 1973. This constitutes a much larger percentage increase for females, but the absolute dollar amount of the difference became larger over that period.

Although a more educated woman is less likely to be unemployed and is more likely to get a job with a higher income, it is a fallacy to assume that more education will decrease unemployment or raise salaries for all women. While education can affect the distribution of unemployment and income among women, the amount of income and unemployment that must be distributed is created by economic conditions independent of education. Increasing everyone's educational levels may simply mean that an individual has to get a higher level of education to maintain her or his standing relative to others. These data do indicate that education is not being used to distribute privilege in the labour market between men and women. This paper will explore why, and what might be done about it.

EDUCATION DISAGGREGATED

The above discussion treated education as if it meant the number of years of schooling that any individual has obtained. The number of years a male and a female spend in school may, however, represent different experiences, which will explain differences in the effects of education in the labour market.

Education begins in the home and reflects dominant beliefs about the capacities and futures of males and females. Although attitudes are becoming more liberal, there is still a very strong assumption that women's primary role is in the family, even if they have a job outside the home. Conversely, boys are encouraged to be independent and to see that their primary responsibility is to earn a living, even if they do the dishes sometimes. There is a great deal of evidence on child-rearing practices indicating that parents act on these stereotypes, encouraging boys and girls to pursue different interests and to value different achievements. This begins at birth when baby girls are admired for their looks and baby boys for their strength. Children themselves know about gender differences by the age of three and these continue to be emphasized through what children see around them, what they themselves define as appropriate for their gender, and what they get rewarded for (Sharpe, 1976; Williams, 1977; Lips and Calwill, 1978). When children see only men driving trucks, women being treated as sex objects in advertisements, and men leaving family responsibilities to women on television, they soon learn what their gender means socially.

These are powerful messages and they are continued in the school. Books, guidance materials, and media used in the schools either omit women or portray them in traditionally stereotyped roles. Teachers often share the dominant ideology. They interact more frequently with boys and allocate tasks according to traditional, sex-typed norms. Student cultures that grow up within the organizations of the school reproduce traditional gender divisions. These differences in treatment and ideology affect both the skills and attitudes of students (Fischer & Cheyne, 1977, Byrne, 1979; Interchange, 1979; Delamont, 1980; Deem, 1980).

In the secondary school, this ideology continues and takes a concrete form in the course choices of male and female students. No simple table can summarize differences in course enrollment in high schools as courses are offered in different ways and statistics are not collected or reported according to gender. However, areas that show substantial sexual differentiation include business education, industrial education, home economics, maths and the physical sciences (Anisef, 1979; Scott, 1981; Gaskell, 1981a). Computing science, a new and increasingly important area, is being introduced, at least in British Columbia, in a way that will encourage girls in the business programme to learn keypunching and word processing, while males in mathematics learn programming skills.

It is usually assumed that sexual differences in course enrollment patterns occur because of differences in students' abilities, interests, and career goals. There do seem to be some differences in verbal abilities, where girls do better, and in spatial and visual abilities, where boys do better (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). How much of this is due to socialization cannot be conclusively shown, although there are reasons to suppose that it is influenced by boys playing different games than girls and being rewarded for different things. However, differences in ability are much smaller than those which appear in course and career choice and can, at most, explain only a small part of the variance (Kimball, 1981). If differences in ability translated directly into course choices, girls would not be so poorly represented in mathematics - the ability differences are not that big. Indeed, some course and career differences run counter to ability as for example, is shown by the fact that boys are more likely to be in law and want political careers, despite girls' better verbal abilities.

Differences in interests may offer some explanation. Girls are encouraged to like baking, boys to like cars. Girls are more anxious about mathematics (Tobias and Weissbrod, 1980). Nonetheless, students do not often choose courses out of interest, unless they need an easy credit to complete their programme. Course choice is very closely related to job choice. Even if a girl does not like mathematics and is afraid of it, she will take it if she needs it to be a nurse or a technician. The girls who take business courses do not take them because they like to type, but because they provide a safety net in the labour market (Gaskell, 1981b).

Recent research shows very little closing of the gap between males and females in high school since 1964 with respect to their occupational preferences (Lueptow, 1981; Herzog, 1982). Choices of traditionally female occupations remain sex-typed as do those for skilled blue collar occupations. Females are becoming somewhat more likely to choose male white collar occupations. Girls continue to emphasize the importance of stimulating work, helping others, and having contacts with other people on the job and are inclined to put less emphasis on status, income, and potential for advancement in their jobs.

Occupational expectations are influenced by perceived opportunities as well as by interests and aptitudes. Opportunities seem less open in non-traditional areas, as employers may discriminate and colleagues may be difficult to get along with. Plans are made on the basis of what seems feasible and acceptable, not on the basis of what one would ideally hope for. Career testing continues to be sex biased (Diamond, 1975) and the weight of tradition hangs heavily. Girls tend to assume their world will look like their mothers' and they make 'safe' choices. Instead of building on existing differences in interest or personality, girls should be encouraged to try new things and think critically. Thus, their job values would be broad enough to qualify for many occupations.

The choices students make are shaped not simply by their attitudes, but by what the schools offer and how the choices are set up. Until recently, girls were not allowed to take industrial education in many schools. There are still remnants of this policy masked as "scheduling difficulties", which may only be overcome with strong pressure from students or parents. Even when choices are formally open, the organization of the courses varies from school to school. For example, the percentage of females enrolled in industrial courses in British Columbia varies from a low of two percent in North Thompson to a high of 31 percent in Fort Nelson. As these districts are similar in socio-economic terms, the differences in enrollment are likely due to factors such as the organization of the timetable, the teachers' attitudes, the sex composition of the teaching staff, and the content of the curriculum. Once a breakthrough has been made, the effect snowballs as the student no longer feels as uncomfortable in a non-traditional area.

Which courses are offered in the public schools and which ones are not available is also important. The availability of job training in the business courses makes them a safe and "sensible" option for most girls. Typing and shorthand are skills which can be learned in school and which are not taught on-the-job. Girls who take commercial courses seem to do better in the labour market than those who do not (Gaskell, 1981b; Nolfi et al., 1978). As clerical work employed half of all women with a high school education in 1971, these courses assume great importance for girls who are not planning to continue with post-secondary education. The industrial courses, which would appear to be equivalent, are not as closely linked to work. They do not provide credentials or skills that are tested or expected on entry to jobs. The student who has taken carpentry is not a carpenter. Trades training takes place after high school and research suggests it is boys in the academic programme who will be preferred. (Nolfi, 1978; Little, 1970).

These enrollment patterns are significant in shaping the skills, interests and interaction patterns of adults. They develop a sense of competence and familiarity with different areas of experience and this influences future choices about work. These course enrollments also affect the ability of students to obtain different kinds of work and to get into programmes at the post-secondary level. A background in mathematics, physics, and computer science is an increasingly critical filter affecting future vocational training and job prospects as well as the field of post-secondary education.

Women constitute more than 50 percent of the student body at community colleges. It is clear that sexual segregation continues at this level, where more of the courses are specifically vocational (see table 5). Analysis of the figures according to division or programme conceals further segregation at the course level (Lewis, 1975). Course choice in the community college involves the same factors as it does in the high school, though it is even more closely related to vocational plans and will be further constrained by course choices in the high school and women's decisions to marry and have children. Choices will again reflect what is offered at the community college level and what must be learned elsewhere, on-the-job or at the university. Training for women's work, especially in the clerical, service, and medical areas, has expanded dramatically at this level since the mid 1960's. Industrial and technical training more frequently takes place in conjunction with an employer, on-the-job or at the university level, although, recently, attempts have been made to expand technical and industrial training at the colleges.

At the university, women constitute less than half of the student body, although they are rapidly increasing their representation. We again find that males and females tend to be in different programmes of study (see table 6). Arts is the only programme that has more or less equal representation of males and females, but even here there are more women in English and French, and more men in mathematics and economics. Breakthroughs are being made by women at this level, although not in the large and important field of engineering. Although the percentage of women has increased in most male areas such as law, architecture, medicine, dentistry, agriculture, veterinary medicine, and commerce faster than in the university as a whole, this is not true in engineering. Engineering had the lowest percentage of females of any faculty in 1972, and today it remains, even more strikingly, the lowest.

Attitudes towards sexual equality are more liberal among the well-educated (Gibbins, 1978) and women have traditionally done well in the social sciences and in biology, which are related to law, medicine, and commerce. Engineering depends more heavily on the physical sciences and engineering students express the most traditional attitudes towards women in their newspapers and pranks. Engineering is less clearly professional than many other areas and credentials are less strongly related to the job one gets (Ahamed et al., 1979). More training and promotion takes place on-the-job and reluctance to hire women may persist more strongly.

This brief overview of sexual segregation in schools has shown a great deal of streaming by sex, beginning in the high school. Women are under-represented in the areas of industry, mathematics, and physical science. They are over-represented in clerical programmes and the semi-professions. Males and females are often not competing with one another by the time they reach the end of their schooling, particularly if they are in vocational programmes. The labour force is segmented through different forms of training for males and females.

I have also argued that women, especially in clerical work, get specialized job training in public education institutions and that they get it earlier than men do. This has the effect of narrowing training options for women relatively early, as girls are likely to play it safe and get the training that is available. It also produces skilled female labour in relatively large supply, so that it can be bought more cheaply on the labour market.

THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Should we achieve changes in education, to what extent can they produce changes in the position of women in the labour force? Sociologists and economists for many years treated education as an investment in human capital that would increase the productivity of labour and thus produce higher wages for the individual and higher profits for the firm (Becker, 1964; Economic Council of Canada, 1964). This happy coincidence of individual and societal interest made arguments for increasing the funding for education and training popular. However, recent research has indicated that the relationship of education to productivity and wages is much more problematic than any simple notion of human capital would suggest (Berg, 1970; Collins, 1979; Squires, 1979).

As we have seen, women's education at the moment does not produce economic returns, at least for them. Even when the kind of education women get is taken into account, women still do not get income returns to their education that are equal to men's (table 7). Graduating in a male area increases the salary of a woman relative to other women, but some of the largest gaps between men and women occur in male areas (Anisef, 1979). A large recent American analysis showed that taking a major field of study into account reduced the gap between male and female returns to education "only slightly" (Angle and Wisman, 1981).

Market segmentation approaches appear to be more useful than human capital theory in understanding the relation between women's education and the economic returns they experience in the labour markets (Edwards, 1975; McDonald, 1981. Segmentation analysis moves away from making assumptions about the average worker in the average work setting, which is what regression analysis of overall "returns" to education does. It focusses, instead, on the fact that different processes operate in different areas of the labour market. It points to the importance of these structural processes, rather than to the characteristics of individuals, in any explanation. Instead of assuming every worker competes with every other worker for all jobs so that the best person is selected, segmentation analysis points to the fact that a very limited group of people are considered as prospective employees. Gender is one criterion that tends to segment the labour force, i.e. make prospective workers eligible or ineligible for jobs. Forms of training are also very important, and as we have seen, tend to overlap with gender. The different structural properties of jobs also affect the possibilities for advancement, income returns, and further training.

Segmentation analysis is important for understanding women's experience in the labour force, as women by and large do different jobs than men. Women are heavily concentrated in a few occupations which employ mostly women - clerical, sales, service, and a few semi-professional jobs such as teaching and nursing. Women continue to enter these jobs whatever their education (see table 8).

As we have seen, part of this occurs because women enter training that is closely linked to traditional job areas. Part of it occurs because, even if women do enter broader or atypical fields of training, they tend to get jobs in traditional areas. At the community college level, women with business diplomas get clerical jobs, but men with business diplomas get managerial positions (Devereaux and Rechnitzer, 1980). At university, the type of course a woman selects decreases the likelihood of her doing clerical work, but only in medical and technical areas does it preclude it (see table 9). More women than men enter teaching from every field of study at university, except French (table 10). Men who get a teaching certificate are more likely to be employed in higher paying jobs not related to education. The tendency for women to revert to traditional jobs increases as the period following graduation increases (Bielby, 1977).

There is a good deal of research showing a weak relationship between one's field of training and one's type of job (Little, 1970; Wilms, 1974; Pincus, 1980). An educational credential provides the possibility of work in an area, but does not guarantee it. Other factors such as personal contacts, personality, and discrimination remain important (Granovetter, 1974; Levinson, 1975). The match between the number of graduates in any field and the number of jobs in the field is not perfect. Employers often do not demand a close fit between training and the job, assuming much can be learned on-the-job as long as the "right sort of person" is hired.

The jobs that women do get offer insufficient pay for the number of years of education they demand. They also provide few opportunities for on-the-job training (Oppenheimer, 1980). On-the-job training and job ladders are critical in equalizing women's opportunities and should not be overlooked as a result of the attention given to public schooling. These differences are more difficult to locate as they are not reported or studied as fully.

Women in sales, factory, and service jobs are disproportionately in the secondary sector, i.e. in small scale, unorganized workplaces, in competitive manufacturing, and in declining industries (Edwards, 1975; McDonald, 1981). These jobs are characterized by low pay, no demand for or rewards for school based training (Hall and Carlton, 1977) and a lack of opportunities for on-the-job training and advancement (Barron and Norris, 1975).

Clerical work provides little on-the-job training and few advancement possibilities. An examination of the British Columbia Public Service demonstrated that women are located in clerk positions with fewer advancement opportunities than the clerk positions men hold. Movement has become more and more difficult for all clerks and will depend increasingly on retraining opportunities (Ministry of Industry and Small Business, 1979). A similar conclusion is reached by Menzies (1980) in examining the impact of new computer technologies on offices. "Clerical workers generally have the fewest opportunities for education leave and staff training, and women have particular problems upgrading their qualifications because of family and related considerations." Secretarial jobs become dead-ends even earlier with the introduction of new technologies, and training is not organized so that clerical staff are eligible for training for the new technical and professional jobs that are created.

The semi-professions, especially teaching, are the most popular jobs for women with post secondary degrees. They pay less than other jobs demanding similar levels of training and they have relatively flat career profiles (Oppenheimer, 1970).

Canada Manpower Statistics show both the under-representation of women in on-the-job training and the segregation of women into particular kinds of training (see table 11). Women constitute only 27 percent of all trainees and they are concentrated in stenographic and clerical trades and in service occupations, particularly the medical and health services. Statistics on other forms of on-the-job training which are not subsidized by the government would, undoubtedly, reveal similar patterns, perhaps even more strongly.

The training for the work that women do is often organized differently from that established for men. It relies more on specific training that takes place in the public schools before job entry and less on on-the-job training and advancement. How did these differences come about? Thurow (1975) has argued that employers will minimize investing in groups "known" to have a low attachment to the labour force. The longer an employee stays with a firm, the longer the period over which the firm can receive returns on its investment. If a man threatens to change jobs, "the employer will at least have the opportunity to bribe the employee to stay. Such countervailing bribes would be less effective in stopping women from having children." As there is no assumption that women will stay and take great responsibility in the firm, there is less necessity to control their training and more willingness to trust public schools to do at least an adequate job. These assumptions need not be true to be influential. Moreover, the form of training that has developed becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy - encouraging intermittent work histories.

The balance between public and private training is the subject of on-going debate (Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1973) and uneven development. The expansion of the community colleges represents the result of an expansion of state funding for training, as well as the transfer of training from other locations (as in the case of nursing). Women are well represented at the community colleges.

The organization of high school courses also indicates greater state involvement in training for women's work. As was shown, secretarial training is available in the schools, while apprenticeship training is not. Moving women out of clerical work and into skilled trades has become a major concern recently (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1980); so this difference deserves attention. Why does it exist?

Clerical work is less expensive to start in schools and typing is a very widely useful skill. However, expensive machines exist in the school shops and experience in settings outside the school is used in commercial courses and could be used in others. The commercial courses go beyond teaching typing to include office specific machines, practices, and work simulations.

It has been argued that clerical skills apply to a wider range of jobs than most industrial skills, and that commercial training must be subsidized by the state, as an employer who trains clerical workers would be subsidizing other employers who do not engage in this training (although this argument does not address the issue of why clerical training is at the high school level). To use Becker's (1964) typology, clerical skills are "general" skills, whereas industrial skills are "specific". However, many of the skills taught in the commercial courses do not apply widely in the job market. Many of the machines used in schools are not in use in offices; the particular letter format that is learned by a girl in school may well not apply to the office in which she works. Moreover, recent attention to industrial skills has pointed out that there are many generic skills that are useful in a wide variety of industrial settings (Smith, 1975). An employer's reluctance to hire and train apprentices is often phrased in terms of the general nature of the skills that are learned and the fact that other employers quickly attempt to hire trained workers (Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1973; Harvey, 1980).

It seems likely that, in clerical work, the rapidly expanding demand for labour, the reluctance of employers to invest in on-the-job training for women, and the lack of unionization in clerical work, all contributed to its emergence as part of the high school curriculum (Dunn, 1979). Unions concerned to restrict the supply of labour and employers willing to invest in men, prevented this from happening to the trades. Some provinces are now beginning to introduce pre-apprenticeship programmes into the high school, but proposals to create alternatives to apprenticeship at the community college or to subsidize employers to provide training on the job are probably more frequent.

We can see then, that women tend to enter jobs that do not reward education well, at least in monetary terms, and that do not offer many possibilities for advancement through further training on the job. Men are more likely to get a general education and to learn specific skills on the job through a variety of employer sponsored training schemes. Changes in hiring practices are needed to give women credit for the skills they have and opportunities to apply them more widely.

The creation of job ladders in clerical work and opportunities for on-the-job training and employer sponsored upgrading are especially important. Young women tend to expect and plan for what they see around them, while experience at work may create a more realistic view of the importance of one's job and provide the motivation for finding better employment opportunities.

CONCLUSIONS

Educational credentials are now part of a process of the segmention of women in the labour market. Women suffer not from a lack of time or success in education and training, but from kinds of education and training that separate them from competition with men. While the causes of gender differences in education and training can be found in the family, in the school, and in the labour market, public policy can most readily be directed to the schools and the labour market.

Attempts should be made to:

- encourage women to select a broader range of courses and jobs, especially in the areas of mathematics, technology, and physical science;
- prevent the choice of courses in high school or even later in school from becoming a barrier to entering further training and employment in non-traditional areas;
- open up on-the-job training and new kinds of job ladders for women in order to allow them to move out of traditional areas of work.

Table 1

Educational attainment of the labour force, percent distribution, by age group and sex, 1977

		15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
Male	- Elementary	6.9	11.3	24.8	34.7	40.2	45.9	20.7
	- Secondary	68.4	45.2	42.2	41.4	38.4	33.5	48.5
	- Post-secondary	24.7	43.5	33.0	23.9	21.4	20.5	30.8
	- Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female	- Elementary	3.7	8.3	18.9	24.1	27.7	30.4	13.0
	- Secondary	65.3	48.3	50.3	50.2	47.7	40.2	54.2
	- Post-secondary	31.0	43.3	30.8	25.7	24.6	29.6	32.8
	- Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Both sexes	- Elementary	5.5	10.2	22.7	31.0	36.3	41.9	17.8
	- Secondary	67.0	46.3	45.1	44.5	41.3	35.2	50.7
	- Post-secondary	27.5	43.5	32.2	24.5	22.4	22.9	31.6
	- Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

from: Picot G *The Changing Education Profile of Canadians*, 1961-2000 Statistics Canada, 1980.

Table 2

Annual Average Labour Force Participation Rates, By Education, Age and Sex, 1977

		Elementary	M/F gap	Completed secondary	M/F gap	Diploma/ certificate	M/F gap	University Degree	M/F gap	Total	M/F gap
15-19	M	43.3		55.4		...		...		54.0	
	F	29.4	13.9	50.0	5.4	...		...		46.6	7.4
	T	37.5		51.3		...		...		50.5	
20-24	M	81.6		92.3		83.3		79.6		85.1	
	F	37.9	43.7	67.3	25	81.7	1.6	80.1	-.5	68.8	16.3
	T	61.8		79.7		82.4		79.9		77.0	
25-34	M	89.5		96.6		96.7		95.6		95.3	
	F	38.7	50.8	56.3	40.3	64.3	32.4	72.8	22.8	55.2	40.1
	T	64.1		74.1		79.0		87.0		75.2	
35-44	M	91.3		97.2		98.5		98.6		95.9	
	F	43.7	47.6	60.3	36.9	65.9	32.6	70.3	28.3	55.7	40.2
	T	68.6		76.4		80.9		89.9		76.0	
45-54	M	86.7		95.8		96.3		98.1		92.4	
	F	36.3	50.4	56.5	39.3	64.2	32.1	68.8	29.3	49.2	43.2
	T	62.9		73.4		78.0		88.6		70.7	
55-64	M	69.8		82.8		83.5		86.6		76.6	
	F	22.3	47.5	38.7	41.1	47.2	36.3	52.0	34.6	32.2	44.4
	T	46.3		58.3		61.8		75.0		53.6	
65+	M	12.0		19.6		19.7		31.5		15.5	
	F	2.4	9.6	7.2	12.4	7.7	12	12.7	18.8	4.2	11.3
	T	6.8		12.0		11.0		24.4		9.1	
Total	M	64.0		90.9		89.3		91.0		77.7	
	F	25.0	39.0	63.9	27	60.6	28.7	68.1	22.9	45.9	31.8
	T	44.7		75.8		72.8		82.6		61.5	

from: Picot (1980)

Table 3

Unemployment Rates by Sex and Education 1971

Education	Male	Female	Female/Male
Elementary or less	8.0	8.4	1.1
1-3 years high school	8.3	10.3	1.2
4-5 years high school	7.0	8.1	1.2
Completed university	3.5	6.1	1.7

from: Gunderson (1976)

Table 4

Average Income of Individuals by Education and Sex, Canada, 1977

Education	1977	
	Women	Men
0-8 years	4 298	10 362
Some high school	5 766	12 085
Some post-secondary	6 212	11 906
Post-secondary certificate or diploma	7 776	15 142
University degree	11 363	20 337

from: Women in the Labour Force 1977 part 2

Table 5

Field of study, 1976 college graduates, by type of diploma

Field of Study	Type of diploma			
	One or two year		Three or four year	
	F	M	F	M
	(Percentage distribution)			
Business, management, and commerce	6	16	11	27
Community services, social welfare, and household science	13	7	4	2
Data processing and computer science	1	3	—	5
Engineering and related technologies	2	37	7	37
Fine and applied arts	3	5	12	11
General arts and science, education and law	10	4	6	3
Mass communications	2	5		4
Nursing	35	2		—
Other medical and dental services	9	3		4
Primary industries	1	12	—	2
Secretarial arts and science	16	—	—	—
Transportation	—	3	—	2
Unknown	2	3	2	2
Total: percent	100	100	100	100
number	13 470	7 790	2 240	2 650

from: Devereux and Rechnitzer (1980)

Table 6

Bachelor or first professional degree enrollment in universities by field of study, Canada, 1973-74 and 1978-79

Field of Study	Total enrollments		Women as percentage of total		Increase
	1973-1974	1978-1979	1973-1976	1978-1979	1973-1978
Agriculture					
Full-time	2 865	23 456	23.4	38.4	15.0
Architecture & landscape architecture					
Full-time	1 892	2 781	14.5	25.0	10.5
Arts					
Full-time	81 660	81 779	46.1	52.4	6.3
Arts and science					
Full-time	20 544	20 317	42.8	50.4	7.6
Commerce & business administration					
Full-time	20 807	32 894	13.5	29.5	16.0
Dentistry					
Full-time	1 886	1 998	8.9	17.6	8.7
Education					
Full-time	23 777	26 951	63.9	73.8	9.9
Engineering					
Full-time	19 965	29 325	2.1	6.3	4.2
Environmental studies					
Full-time	898	1 352	23.3	36.2	12.9
Fine and applied arts					
Full-time	5 513	7 451	55.3	63.1	7.8
Forestry					
Full-time	1 230	1 384	5.9	21.2	15.3
Household science					
Full-time	4 304	3 381	97.4	98.2	.8
Journalism					
Full-time	1 072	1 368	54.1	61.0	6.9

Table 6 (Cont'd)

Field of Study	Total enrollments		Women as percentage of total		Increase
	1973-1974	1978-1979	1973-1976	1978-1979	1973-1978
Law					
Full-time	8 382	9 456	20.4	34.0	13.6
Library and record science					
Full-time	90	*	88.9	*	
Medicine					
Full-time	7 064	8 106	24.3	34.2	9.9
Music					
Full-time	3 201	3 715	56.3	56.2	-.1
Nursing					
Full-time	4 899	5 269	97.9	97.3	-.6
Optometry					
Full-time	340	349	22.1	40.4	18.3
Pharmacy					
Full-time	2 562	2 729	56.2	63.2	7.0
Physical and health education					
Full-time	9 991	11 513	45.7	51.6	5.9
Rehabilitation medicine					
Full-time	1 547	2 157	92.2	89.2	-3.0
Religion and theology					
Full-time	1 658	1 742	30.3	26.8	-3.5
Science					
Full-time	40 798	40 438	27.1	34.8	7.7
Secretarial science					
Full-time	940	983	99.3	99.8	.5
Social work					
Full-time	2 366	2 853	70.5	77.3	6.8
Veterinary medicine					
Full-time	892	1 082	23.2	42.6	19.4

Table 6 (Cont'd)

Field of Study	Total enrollments		Women as percentage of total		Increase
	1973-1974	1978-1979	1973-1976	1978-1979	1973-1978
Other					
Full-time	380	1 235	46.6	47.7	.1
Not reported					
Full-time	152	12	-	41.7	.1
Total					
Full-time	271 675	306 794	39.1	45.2	6.1

from: Women in the Labour Force 1977 part 3

Table 7

Salary by type of qualification, 2 years after graduation - 1978

Two-year diplomas	F	M	F as % of M
Graduates with two year diplomas	Median salary	Median salary	
Business, management, and commerce	10 240	13 610	75%
Community services, social welfare, and household science	10 460	13 140	79%
Data processing and computer science	12 050	13 640	88%
Engineering and related technologies	11 270	14 020	80%
Fine and applied arts	8 970	10 880	82%
General arts and science, education and law	9 300	13 190	70%
Mass communications	10 210	12 950	78%
Nursing	12 830	14 340	89%
Other medical and dental services	12 900	12 890	100%
Primary industries	9 760	13 550	72%
Secretarial arts and science	9 030	-	
Transportation	-	13 570	
University Graduates			
Agricultural and biological sciences			
Biology	11 460	14 010	81%
Household science	13 680	-	
Total	12 580	14 240	88%
Education:			
Physical education	13 740	15 010	91%
Other education	14 850	15 780	94%
Engineering and applied sciences	-	17 680	
Fine and applied arts	12 800	13 660	93%

Table 7 (Cont'd)

Two-year diplomas	F	M	F as % of M
University Graduates	Median salary	Median salary	
Health professions:			
Medicine and dentistry	15 500	21 300	72%
Nursing	14 690	-	
Pharmacy	17 630	17 740	99%
Rehabilitation	15 740	-	
Total	15 220	18 260	83%
Humanities:			
History	13 030	14 100	92%
Languages	13 790	15 190	90%
Total	13 740	14 320	96%
Mathematics and physical sciences	13 850	15 170	91%
Social sciences:			
Business, management, and commerce	14 030	15 120	93%
Economics	13 640	14 250	96%
Geography	13 790	14 960	92%
Law	16 640	17 470	95%
Political science	12 920	14 280	90%
Psychology	13 400	15 480	86%
Social work	14 750	15 860	93%
Sociology	13 670	15 010	91%
Total	13 760	15 220	90%
General (no specialization)	12 990	13 850	94%

from: Devereux and Rechnitzer (1980)

Table 8

Percentage distribution of the labour force by occupation
for level of schooling and sex, Canada, 1971

Occupation	Less than grade 9		Grades 12 and 13		Completed vocational course		University Degree	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Managerial, administrative	0.5	1.1	2.5	8.2	2.7	6.1	5.8	18.8
Natural sciences, engineering and mathematics	0.1	0.5	0.6	5.7	0.8	6.0	3.6	16.8
Social sciences	0.2	0.1	0.8	0.6	1.1	0.5	8.2	7.1
Religion	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	2.8
Teaching	0.4	0.1	7.2	1.3	6.5	2.1	40.5	19.7
Medicine and health	3.2	0.4	11.8	1.0	20.1	1.6	12.3	9.7
Artistic, literary and recreational	0.2	0.4	0.8	1.6	1.0	1.4	2.3	1.7
Clerical	0.9	3.6	47.3	12.0	37.8	6.1	14.6	4.4
Sales	0.8	5.7	7.2	14.5	5.7	8.8	2.6	5.9
Services	27.9	10.4	7.6	8.5	12.3	9.5	2.7	2.4
Farming, horticultural and animal husbandry	7.8	11.2	1.9	4.4	1	2.8	0.4	1.1
Processing	5.2	6.8	0.5	3.5	0	3.4	0.2	1.0
Machining	1.0	4.9	0.2	3.7	0	7.7	-	0.4
Product fabricating assembling and repairing	13.5	10.1	1.4	7.9	2.4	15.4	0.3	1.0
Construction	0.3	14.5	0.1	7.8	0.2	13.8	0.1	1.2
Transport equipment	0.4	8.4	0.2	3.5	0.2	3.5	0.1	0.6
Materials handling	2.9	3.8	0.5	2.3	0.5	1.4	0.1	0.4
Other craft & equipment operating	0.6	1.4	0.3	2.0	0.4	3.3	0.1	0.3
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 9

Bachelor's degree recipients employed full-time in clerical occupations, by field of study, 1978

Field of Study	F	M
	(Percent*)	
Agricultural and biological sciences	13	--
Education	5	--
Fine and applied arts	15	--
Health professions	--	--
Humanities	9	--
English	14	--
French	20	13
History	14	11
Total		
Mathematics and physical sciences	--	--
Social sciences:		
Business, management, and commerce	23	12
Psychology	13	--
Sociology	11	--
Total	13	7
Total	10	5

From: Devereux and Rechnitzer p. 153

Table 10

University graduates employed full-time in elementary-secondary teaching occupations

Field of Study	F	M
	(Percent*)	
Bachelor's degree		
Agricultural and biological sciences		
Biology	--	15
Household science	37	--
Total	22	10
Education:		
Physical education	60	55
Other education	77	72
Fine and applied arts	26	--
Humanities:		
English	50	34
French	59	62
History	41	29
Total	48	31
Mathematics and physical sciences	21	13
Social sciences:		
Business, management, and commerce	--	--
Geography	51	45
Political science	--	14
Psychology	38	19
Sociology	44	26
Total	32	13
General (No specialization) or unknown	50	--
Total	43	21
Master's degree		
Education	45	37
Engineering, mathematics, and physical sciences	--	6

Table 10 (Cont'd)

Field of Study	F	M
	(Percent*)	
Humanities:	—	52
History	—	37
Other	14	—
Total	17	30
Social sciences	—	5
Total	18	15

from: Devereux and Rechnitzer p. 149

Table 11

Participation in Canada Manpower Industrial Training Programme by sex and occupational field, Canada, 1976-1977

	Women	Total	As % of total female enrollment	Women as a percentage of the total
Arts	590	1 121	3.5	52.6
Community and recreational services	506	1 281	3.0	39.5
Construction	66	5 405	.3	1.2
Engineering and natural sciences	154	1 099	.9	14.0
Fabricating, assembling and repairing	3 564	15 002	21.4	23.8
Management and administration	364	1 228	2.2	29.6
Materials handling	174	845	1.0	20.6
Medical and health services	1 010	1 358	6.0	74.4
Metal machining and shaping	163	3 594	.9	4.5
Machining, other (except metal)	117	1 113	.7	10.5
Primary industries				
Farming and Horticulture	129	1 112	.7	11.6
Forestry and logging	8	1 348	.00	0.6
Mining and quarrying-Techniques	5	759	.00	0.7
Printing	338	1 171	2.0	28.9
Processing occupations	1 929	9 602	11.6	20.1
Sales	891	2 981	5.3	29.9
Service occupations	2 283	3 935	13.7	58.0
Stenographic and clerical trades	4 153	6 041	24.9	68.7
Transportation	38	891	.2	4.3
Other	135	902	.7	15.0
Total	16 617	60 788		27.3

from: Women in the Labour Force 1977 edition part 3.

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RESOLVING CONFLICT BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES: A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION

WOMEN'S BUREAU, LABOUR CANADA

Many factors influence the significant differences which exist in the overall employment position of men and women. The effects of family commitments on female employment has been considered indirectly in several studies in order to explain the historical patterns of female labour force participation and the continuing differences between male and female income positions. Recently this factor was indirectly cited as constituting the most important variable explaining the male/female wage gap.[1]

The purpose of this paper is to outline the changing effect of family commitments on female employment and to explore a range of possible employment policy responses which would reduce the tensions which exist between employment and family responsibilities.

The discussion will concentrate on female employees and the employment impact of the presence of small children. It is acknowledged, however, that family responsibilities often extend beyond the care of children to include ill or aged family members. It is also acknowledged that the pressures of family responsibilities do not leave men unscathed. Important attitudinal changes surrounding social roles and changes in the size and structure of the family unit suggest that increasingly men will feel the necessity to accommodate the requirements of their employment to the needs of their families.

Part I of the paper will briefly canvas the social and demographic forces which have generated the demand that consideration be given to the family commitments of workers as an appropriate matter for employment policy.

It will be suggested that while there have been dramatic changes in the aspirations and labour force patterns of Canadian workers, there has been little impact on the organization of work outside the home. Despite the constraints which family responsibilities impose on labour force participation, arrangements for family care, and the performance of home-related tasks are still perceived to be the exclusive concern of individual workers. Part II will outline a range of policy responses available to reconcile family responsibilities.

PART I

Social Changes

Twenty years ago it was not necessary for employment policy to be concerned with the family responsibilities of employees. After marriage, women generally withdrew from the labour force to devote their attention to the management of their homes and the rearing of their children. Relieved of these responsibilities by the presence of wives at home, men were expected to concentrate on their careers and provide financial support for the family unit.

This rigid division of social roles according to sex has undergone considerable change which has been precipitated by the combination of many forces. The desired standard of living of Canadian families has demanded increasingly the presence of two wage earners. For a significant proportion of families, wives' salaries barely maintain family income above the poverty line.[2] The rising incidence of marital breakdown has meant that many more women provide the sole support for themselves or their families than was the case 20 years ago.[3] Changes have also occurred in the personal aspirations of Canadian women. Increased opportunity to pursue careers outside the home has encouraged women to reject household duties and child care as a complete role definition. Changes in female aspirations can be seen in the rising levels of educational achievement[4] and a continuing trend in favour of smaller families.[5] The continued effect of the forces of necessity, opportunity, and ability have led women into the labour market in numbers sufficient to alter permanently the composition of the Canadian labour force.

Demographic Changes

In 1981, 51 percent of adult women were in the labour force[6], which represents an increase of 100 percent in barely 20 years.[7] Based on an examination of the determinants of female labour force participation and of annual rates of growth in female participation over the past two decades, analysts predict a female participation rate of between 65 and 75 percent by the year 2000.[8]

Perhaps more significant than the continuing trend of Canadian women entering the labour force are the profound changes evident in the patterns of female labour force participation. Traditionally, participation rates have risen until women reach the 20-24 age bracket after which they have fallen sharply for women in the 25-34 age bracket reflecting the influence of marriage and child-raising as strong deterrents to further participation.[9]

While tremendous increases in female participation rates have been recorded for all age groups over the past 20 years, those for women between the ages of 25 and 34 have been the most dramatic.[10] By 1981, 65.5 percent of women in the main child-bearing ages were in the labour force.[11]

These data disclose an important departure from traditional female labour force behaviour. The labour force activity of women born between 1940 and 1950 is inhibited to a far lesser degree by child-raising roles. The phenomenal growth in female participation rates and marked changes in female labour force behaviour have been the subject of two recent studies. The conclusions of these studies have important implications for the shape of future employment and labour market policy. Based on the stability of this growth pattern over the past 20 years, and the continuing strength of the forces which have stimulated this growth, the studies projected further increases in female participation rates including rates for women of child-bearing age. In addition, projections indicate that participation patterns for women will continue to follow those usually associated with men.[12]

Participation Rates and Fertility

Aggregate labour force and fertility data clearly indicate that female participation is far less hampered by child-raising than it was 20 years ago. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the nature of the link between fertility and labour force participation remains unclear. It is uncertain whether the desire to participate in the labour force has caused women to have fewer children or whether increased participation is an effect of the desire and ability to control family size.[13] Whether as a cause or an effect of labour force participation, women are having far fewer children and there is some evidence to suggest that the fertility rate for women in the labour force is lower than that for women who are not in it.[14] The fertility rate in Canada has been declining sharply since 1960. By 1972 the rate had fallen below that necessary to reproduce the population. This trend is influential to the costs which might be associated with the development of employment policies relating to workers with family responsibilities.

Effects of Child-Raising on Employment

Reference to declining fertility rates provides little in the way of a remedy for those workers who must find ways to balance the needs of their families with those of their employment. The link between the presence of young children and the weaker employment position of women has never been the subject of direct study. However, drawing from studies which have analyzed the factors which contribute to the male/ female income differential, the importance of family commitments emerges as an element adversely affecting each of the accepted determinants of labour market position as they relate to women. Differences have been noted in male and female seniority levels, job experience, hours of work, and in promotion-seeking behaviour, all of which contribute to the wide disparity between male and female average incomes.

Childbearing and child care usually imply some interruption in labour force activity for women. These breaks in employment reduce seniority levels for women and affect the relative position of female workers with respect to the length and nature of their job experience. During the period of the absence, income is only partially replaced by unemployment insurance benefits. Benefits and pensions depend on continuity of employment and, therefore, the effects of family commitments on compensation are noticeable even upon retirement.

When returning to work, the desire to combine family commitments with labour force activity presents women with a new set of employment setbacks. Often the balance between child care and labour force activity can only be met by the opportunity to work in less than a full-time capacity. Opportunities for part-time work are confined to a narrow range of generally low paying, low skill occupations. Attempts to combine family responsibilities with full-time work, are, ironically, likely to be perceived as evidence of "non-promotable" behaviour.[15] The incidence of short-term absence, the failure to request additional employment opportunities, the refusal to work overtime and the likelihood of withdrawal from the labour force have been used as indices of career motivation. By using this type of index, women are found to exhibit lower levels of promotion-seeking behaviour than men.[16] Although family commitments have a much less significant influence on female labour force participation, they continue to exert a negative influence on all aspects of female employment including income and benefit levels, job experience and the likelihood of advancement.

Family commitments not only weaken the employment position of female workers, but they also place new constraints on employers as the number of employees with divided responsibilities grows. Interruptions in employment imply increased recruitment and training costs as well as lost productivity and the related increase in overtime as a compensating measure.

However, the costs associated with employment interruptions due to family commitments have been made manageable by the very small number of women in any large establishment who leave to have children. Recruitment costs have been held down by the large labour pool for the kind of work women tend to do.

Since employers will have to rely on women increasingly as ordinary sources of labour supply (population growth and immigration) diminish, measures will have to be taken to accommodate the family commitments of workers to the operational requirements of the establishment.

PART II

A network of interrelated legislative and employer policy responses are necessary for the reduction of the tensions and negative career consequences which continue to exist as workers try to balance family care responsibilities and employment requirements. This section of the paper will explore some of the possible policy responses.

Arrangement of Working Hours

Work tends to be organized around an eight hour day, 40 hour week and 52 week format. This rigid structure imposes many employment constraints on workers with family responsibilities. A variety of different work arrangements have been proposed which would integrate the social responsibilities of working parents with the work pattern.

a) Part-time Work

The part-time labour force has been growing at a rate of 1.5 times that of the full-time labour force.[17] The ability to work in less than a full-time capacity is considered an important factor in facilitating female labour force activity. Almost 35 percent of the growth in female employment over the past 25 years has been in part-time work.[18] Nonetheless, while it allows many women to remain in the labour force, opportunities for part-time work tend to be confined to low wage, low skill occupations. Consequently, part-time work contributes little to the enrichment of female job experience. Employers have tended to regard part-time workers as an inexpensive casual labour pool available to fill in during business peaks in the service sector. Despite evidence which indicates that there are productivity gains associated with a wider use of part-time labour, few professional administrative or managerial opportunities arise for those who wish to work in a part-time capacity.[19]

b) Flexible Working Hours

To a certain extent these schemes allow workers to choose their daily, weekly, or monthly hours of work. Usually, flexible working hours require the presence of workers during core business hours, but allow flexibility in starting and finishing times. For workers with school-age children or children in day care, these systems allow workers to end their working day at the end of the school day. Studies have shown that the introduction of flexible hours has resulted in reduced absenteeism and increased employee morale.

c) Leaves of Absence

Leaves of absence, for reasons relating to family care, allow workers to concentrate their attention on family duties for periods when combining work with family responsibilities is not practical. These periods include the weeks before and after pregnancy, the period following the birth or adoption of a child when alternate sources of child care are not available and periods when illness of a child or family member may require home care. Since this type of absence can involve an extended interruption in employment, its most important implication is for current and future employment positions. Current eligibility for leaves of absence tend to be applicable to pregnant workers and to be for shorter periods than is necessary to attend to the care of infants. For employers, leaves of absence present operational difficulties, as replacement workers must be recruited and trained to assume the job of an absent employee.

In addition to extended leave to attend to early child care responsibilities, short-term absences have been proposed as a measure to allow employees to discharge unusual family responsibilities. Arrangements to provide for this type of short-term absence are varied, but this generally consists of policies which allow employees to accumulate a pool of hours upon which they can draw, for this purpose.

Child Care Facilities

Day Care

Limited availability, prohibitive cost and the varying quality of day care facilities in Canada contribute to a difficulty in making satisfactory and affordable child care arrangements for parents who wish to return to work. Recently, the importance of retaining a qualified female work force has prompted some employers to provide or subsidize work-site facilities.

Maternity Benefits

Income lost as a result of absence due to pregnancy is partially replaced for a period of 15 weeks by unemployment insurance benefits. It is not available to all pregnant workers, nor is it available to adoptive mothers. Currently, the benefit is equal to 66 percent of weekly earnings up to a maximum of $208.00 per week. Several policy responses are available to reduce the significant impact on income from interruptions in employment for reasons related to childbirth or adoption. Some examples are:

- allowing female employees to use sickness or disability benefits in the case of pregnancy or adoption or specifically including maternity benefits in the general employee benefit package;

- providing a sum of money to supplement the benefit provided under unemployment insurance legislation as part of employee compensation schemes;

- improving the benefit scheme under unemployment insurance legislation.

Policies to Reduce the Consequences of Leaves of Absence

a) Super-Seniority Provisions

These policies accord workers who interrupt employment for reasons relating to child care the right to accumulate seniority during some or all of the period of their absence. This has been adapted from the super-seniority rights sometimes accorded union executives under collective agreements to shelter them from the adverse effects of layoffs.

b) Notification of Employment Opportunities During Leaves of Absence

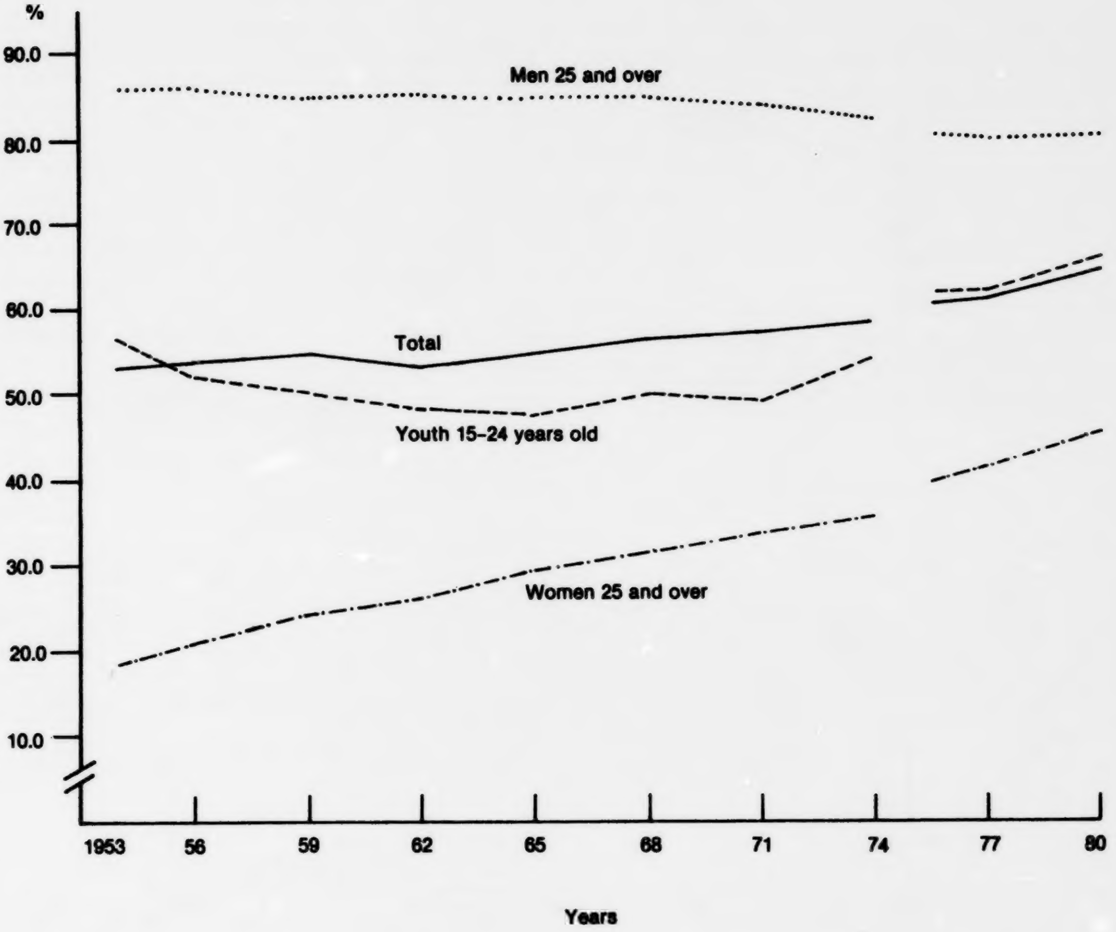
An administrative programme to keep absent employees aware of employment opportunities, as they arise, during the period of absence would allow them to make informed choices concerning the best time to resume employment activity.

APPENDICES

(Charts and tables prepared by the Department of Finance and the Task Force on Labour Market Development)

Chart 1

Participation Rates, 1953 to 1980

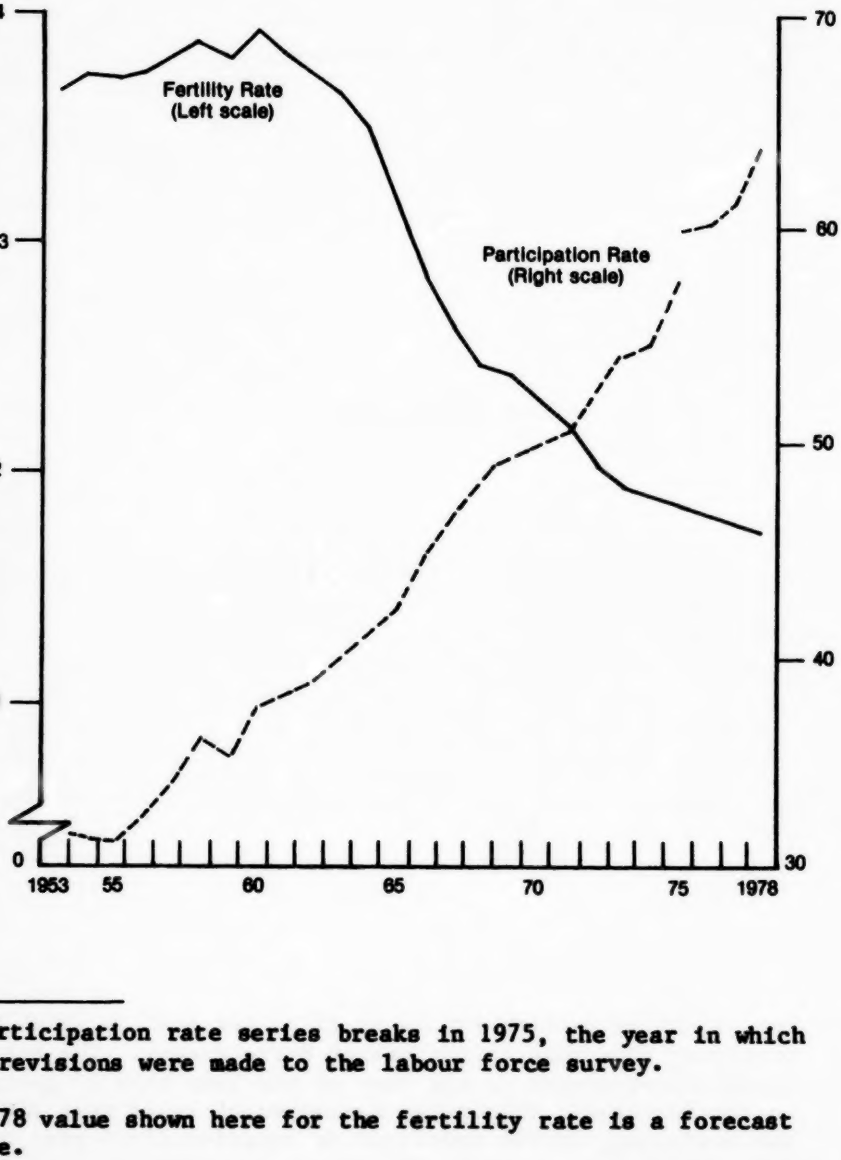


Note: The historical series breaks in 1975, the year in which major revisions were made to the **Labour Force Survey**. The most abrupt break occurs in the case of the less than 25 group. Prior to the revisions, this group consisted of 14-24 year olds. With the revisions, it was redefined to comprise 15-24 year olds.

Source: Based on Statistics Canada, **Labour Force Survey**.

Chart 2

The Total Fertility Rate, and the Participation Rate of Women Aged 20-30, Canada, 1953-1978



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[1] The participation rate series breaks in 1975, the year in which major revisions were made to the labour force survey.

[2] The 1978 value shown here for the fertility rate is a forecast estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, Vital Statistics, Volume 1, Cat. 84-204, and The Labour Force, Cat. 71-001.

Table 1

Participation Rates of Adult Women by Educational Attainment, Canada, 1976

	Level of Schooling				
	Grade 11 or Less	Grade 12-13	Some Post-Secondary Non-University	Some University	University Degree
Total	34.3	54.9	57.0	64.0	70.9
20-24	49.1	72.7	75.5	77.0	81.9
25-34	42.0	55.1	59.8	66.5	74.2
35-44	47.2	58.3	61.5	65.5	69.8
45-54	43.1	55.2	60.0	64.1	69.2
55-64	28.3	39.8	46.4	49.8	54.2
65 and over	5.4	7.7	8.8	11.6	14.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1976 Census of Canada, Supplementary Bulletins, Economic Characteristics, Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Level of Schooling, Age, Marital Status and Presence of Children, Cat. 94-836 (Bulletin 10SE7).

Table 2

Participation Rates of Married Women, Husbands Present, by Age Group and the Presence of Children in the Home, Canada, May 1971 and May 1976

	Aged 15-34	Aged 35-44
With no children present		
1971	73.9	59.4
1976	77.5	65.5
Absolute increase	3.6	6.1
Relative increase (percent)	4.9	10.3
With children, all over six		
1971	46.0	44.2
1976	54.9	53.6
Absolute increase	8.9	9.4
Relative increase (percent)	19.3	21.3
With children under six		
1971	28.0	25.4
1976	36.9	35.8
Absolute increase	8.9	10.4
Relative increase (percent)	31.8	40.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Labour Force Activity - Work Experience, Female Labour Force Participation by Schooling, Marital Status, Age, and Presence of Children, for Canada and the Regions, Cat. 94-774, Vol. 3, Part 7 (Bulletin 3.7-4); 1976 Census of Canada, Supplementary Bulletins: Economic Characteristics, Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Level of Schooling, Age, Marital Status and Presence of Children, Cat. 94-836, (Bulletin 10SE7).

Table 3

Part-Time and Full-Time Employment for Demographic Groups and Industries

	Average annual percent rate of growth		Percentage contribution to employment growth	
	1966-73	1973-79	1966-73	1973-79
Total employment	2.7	3.4	100.0	100.0
Full-time	2.3	3.3	74.0	85.6
Part-time	6.9	4.0	26.0	14.4
Part-time employment	6.9	4.0	100.0	100.0
Youth	10.8	6.0	55.5	62.6
Adult women	4.3	3.6	35.9	43.5
Adult men	4.8	-2.6	8.6	-6.4
Goods-producing industries	3.7	0.2	10.2	1.0
Services-producing industries	7.6	4.7	89.8	99.0
Full-time employment	2.3	3.3	100.0	100.0
Youth	2.6	3.6	26.2	23.9
Adult women	4.6	6.7	37.1	43.0
Adult men	1.4	2.0	36.7	33.0
Goods-producing industries	0.5	2.2	10.0	25.1
Services-producing industries	3.5	4.0	90.0	74.9

Source: Based on Statistics Canada, **Labour Force Survey.**

NOTES

[1] W.E. Block. "Economic Intervention and Unforeseen Consequences". W.E. Block and M.A. Walker (ed.). Discrimination, Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity. The Frazer Institute, 1982.

[2] National Council on Welfare. Women and Poverty. Ottawa, 1979, pp. 20-21, as referred to in Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada. Department of Finance Canada. Ottawa, 1980.

[3] D. Ciuriak and H. Sims. Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada. Department of Finance Canada, Ottawa, 1980, pp. 8-9. The authors estimate that 40 percent of all women in the labour force provide the sole support for themselves and their families, and that the increase in Canada's divorce rate accounts for as much as 8 percent of the total increase in the participation rate of women, between 1971 and 1976.

[4] Statistics Canada. Education in Canada: A Statistical Review for 1979-1980. (Cat. No. 81-229); see also Appendix, Table 1. Between 1970-1980, the proportion of female students in post secondary institutions rose from 39 to 47 percent.

[5] Statistics Canada. Vital Statistics. (V.II., Cat. No. 84-204) The present average Canadian family is less than half the size of the average family in 1960.

[6] Statistics Canada. The Labour Force. (1981 annual averages) (Cat. No. 71-001). See also Appendix, Chart 1.

[7] Statistics Canada. Historical Labour Force Statistics, Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data. (Cat. No. 71-201).

[8] Ciuriak and Sims. Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada. Department of Finance Canada, 1980; see also Task Force on Labour Market Development. Labour Market Development in the 1980's. Employment and Immigration Canada, Ottawa, 1981.

[9] Ibid, p. 18.

[10] Ibid. See also Appendix, Table 2.

[11] Statistics Canada. The Labour Force. (Cat. No. 71-001).

[12] Ciuriak and Sims. p. 42.

[13] Ibid. p. 11.

[14] A. Grossman. "Almost Half of All Children Have Mothers in the Labour Force". Monthly Labour Review, Vol. 1-100, No. 6 (June 1977) as referred to in Ciuriak and Sims. Also unpublished data provided by Statistics Canada, Labour Force Surveys Divisions show that, in 1981, 47.5 percent of all mothers with children under the age of six were in the labour force. See also Appendix, Table 2.

[15] Hoffman and Ried. "When is Imbalance Not Discrimination?" Discrimination, Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity. The Frazer Institute, 1982, pp. 187-216.

[16] Ibid. p. 198.

[17] Ciuriak and Sims. p. 10. See also Appendix, Table 3.

[18] Ibid.

[19] S.D. Nollen. Permanent Part-Time Employment. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978, p. 10.

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APPENDICES

CONFERENCE OUTLINE

Inn On The Park - Toronto
March 17-19, 1982

THE CONFERENCE

The Women's Bureau of Labour Canada is sponsoring a special conference on "Sexual Equality in the Workplace", at the Inn On The Park in Toronto, March 17-19, 1982.

It is the objective of Labour Canada to organize an examination of the issues related to sexual equality in such a way as to provide government policy makers, corporate managers and workers with a useful discussion of the current status of women in the Canadian workplace; realistic objectives for improving the conditions and opportunities for working women; and possible practical strategies for the attainment of these objectives as well as methods of measuring progress in the pursuit of fair standards of sexual equality in the workplace. Indeed, it is Labour Canada's mandate, as part of the federal government's National Plan of Action for Women, to work to improve the role of women in the workplace.

Canada's recent ratification of the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women has added further impetus to the government's intention to establish and clarify what directions lie ahead for women in Canadian society, especially in view of their ever increasing participation in the labour force.

The department views this conference and the informal consultative process which preceded it as important inputs into its consideration of sexual equality issues and the government's responsibility to deal with them.

THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS

Realizing that the theme of "sexual equality in the workplace" and its related issues are very complex, it has been the desire of Labour Canada to plan carefully both the substance and format of the conference. To this end, an attempt has been made to canvass representatives of the business community, organized labour and some interest groups on their views as to how this issue can be fairly and productively discussed in a public forum.

As part of the process, meetings were held in Calgary, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa involving national groups, corporations and unions as well as interested and informed individuals.

The department sought advice on the content and format as well as the nature and scope of participation at the conference. Suggestions were received concerning speakers, themes and format design. This input is reflected in the current concept and arrangements for the conference now set for March 17-19, 1982 in Toronto.

THE FORMAT

Unlike most other conferences, this event has been structured in such a way as to maximize participant involvement in discussion on the issues and the development of analysis and suggestions. There are to be relatively few special speakers.

Instead, the emphasis is on generating opinions and ideas which might assist all participants and, through the news media, the public at large, in understanding the background and current status of working women in Canada as well as what might be done to achieve a better standard of sexual equality in the workplace.

The first day of this 2½ day conference will be centred on providing a framework for subsequent discussions by featuring introductory presentations of very different approaches to equality in a free society and, in particular, the role of the state in furthering equality objectives. The day will be rounded out by assessments of approaches to attaining sexual equality in the workplace taken in other industrialized countries of the world in addition to Canada.

Ample opportunity will be provided for offering comments and questions from participants on the floor of the conference at the conclusion of each of these presentations.

Day Two of the conference will focus on the individual themes and sub-issues related to Sexual Equality in the Workplace. Those who attend the conference will have the opportunity of gaining access to and participating in each of the four general theme workshops (Reconciling Work and Family Responsibilities; Equal Compensation; Occupational Segregation; and Socialization, Education and Training - all to be discussed in more detail below).

An effort is to be made to record and subsequently to report on the general thrust of these sessions at the conference. Each workshop will be chaired by an expert in the field who will introduce the substance of the session with a brief overview presentation and then direct and moderate the discussions. Each session will be limited in size (about 30) and have participants from business, government and labour in attendance.

The moderator will attempt to ensure that each workshop has time allocated to a general discussion of the current situation related to, for example, the dual responsibilities of work and family faced by many women and then a discussion of what objectives should be established to deal with problems associated with the situation and finally proposals for action by government, business, labour and individual workers.

Day Three will start off with a plenary session in which the moderator of each of the four theme workshops of the previous day will report on the substance of the group session, including the general analysis of the issues as well as proposed objectives and strategies.

It will be at the conclusion of this plenary session that the conference takes on a critical new phase. While the working level participants continue the plenary session in order to discuss from the floor the output of the workshop sessions, a special executive session involving very senior leaders from government, business and labour will meet to discuss the business and political decisions which may be necessary to deal with the issues and problems identified during the preceding two days.

Though it is unlikely that most participants in the executive session will have had the opportunity to attend the previous two days of the conference (they will, however, have been invited to do so), an attempt will be made to brief them fully on the issues and suggestions made. The purpose of the executive session is to ascertain the views of those in senior decision-making positions on the issues related to sexual equality in the workplace.

The moderator of this executive session will be the featured speaker at lunch that day. This will be the concluding session of the conference. It is hoped that the moderator will be able to convey to the conference at large the general mood of the executive session and its handling of key issues, while at the same time not specifically identifying the holder of any particular points of view.

It will be the executive session moderator's role to bring together, along with the summary of the plenary session's moderator, the output and conclusions of the conference in a manner that is useful to policy and decision makers in business, labour and government.

WORKSHOP THEMES

(i) Reconciling Work and Family Responsibilities

This session will examine the changing family roles and responsibilities of men and women as well as the possible means of resolving conflicting responsibilities. This theme covers many of the issues which serve as key "barriers" to working women. Included in this workshop would be discussion of such issues as child care, alternate work modes (part-time, job-sharing, at-home work), relocation policies and parental leave.

(ii) Equal Compensation

The reasons for which women's earnings continue to be lower than those of men, along with the need for and possibilities for mechanisms of dealing with male-female income differentials, are the focus of this topic.

This workshop will deal with issues relevant to "equal pay for equal work" and "equal pay for work of equal value" as well as that of compensation for part-time workers. There are also a number of sub-themes which could be developed, one of the most critical being the role of "market forces" in determining "equal pay/value" cases.

(iii) Occupational Segregation

The tendency for women to be concentrated in a number of relatively poorly paid occupations as well as the reasons for this pattern and the possibilities for change are key issues here. Included in the discussion of possible measures to right this situation will be the role of "catch-up" or accelerated programmes such as affirmative action or "progressive employment practices".

(iv) Socialization, Education, and Training

Acknowledging that there are many factors behind the current situation of women in the workplace which are not related to the performance of employers, this session will examine some of these variables. Discussions will include a review of the ways in which gender affects the upbringing of children and the expectations they develop as a key factor in shaping work roles and predicting occupation and compensation. The kinds of education and training that are typical for men and women today are important aspects of this issue as are the range of possible changes which may be desirable.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Armstrong, Pat
Department of Sociology
Vanier College

Ashford, Margaret
Prince Edward Island
Advisory Council on
the Status of Women

Bartenbach, Henry
Mediation and Conciliation
Labour Canada

Beecher, Rhoda
Toronto Hydro

Bott, Frank
Shell Canada Limited

Boyd, Monica
Department of Sociology
Carleton University

Brandt, Gail
Department of History
Glendon College
York University

Coffey, Mary Anne
Metropolitan Toronto Social
Planning Council

Cohen, Dian
Economics Journalist

Cullinan, Janet
New Brunswick Department
of Labour and Manpower

Davidson-Palmer, Judith
Wm. M. Mercer Limited

Davies, Celia
Norcen Energy Resources

Davies, Lynn
Westinghouse Canada

DiGiacomo, Gordon
Policy Coordination
and Liaison
Labour Canada

Donlevy, Maureen
Imperial Oil Limited

Dobson, Jean
Nova Scotia Department of
Labour and Manpower

Doyle, Peter
Canadian Manufacturers'
Association

Emery, Anne
National Liberal Caucus
Research Bureau

Fera, Lou
The Algoma Steel Corporation
Limited

Fortin, Louise
Conseil de la Condition de la
Femme du Québec

Fry, Pamela
Dian Cohen Productions

Gallivan, R.J.
C-I-L Incorporated

Gaskell, Jane
Faculty of Education
University of
British Columbia

Goodman, R.K.
Imperial Oil Limited

Gordon, Lynne
Ontario Status of Women
Council

Gordon, Marsha
Canadian Chamber of Commerce

Graham, Shirley
Canadian Imperial Bank
of Commerce

Griffin, G.K.
Simpson Sears Limited

Hall, Shirley
Glendon College
York University

Hatch, Mary
Toronto Dominion Bank

Hauw, Heleyne
Labour Canada

Jackson, Margaret
Canadian Federation of Business
and Professional Women's Clubs

Lawes, John C.
Shell Canada Limited

Lavallee, Laval
Economic Council of Canada

Lipsett, Penny
Xerox Canada

Logan, Kathryn
Mount Saint Vincent University

Louden, Ruth
McKinsey and Company

Marsden, Lorna
Department of Sociology
University of Toronto

Martin, Roy
Xerox Canada

Mason, Margaret J.
Progressive
Conservative Party of Canada

Mather, Boris
Canadian Federation of
Communications Workers

Mayne, Carol
Prince Edward Island
Department of Labour

McCaffrey, Louise
Glendon College
York University

McCamus, David R.
Xerox Canada

McElheron-Hopkins, Charryn
Labour Canada

McIlwain, Lilian
Manitoba Women's Bureau

McLeod, J.R.
Canadian National

McVey, Helen
Canadian Broadcasting
Corporation

Meldazy, Deborah
Government of the Northwest
Territories
Department of Justice and
Public Services

Miflin, Rita
Metropolitan Toronto Social
Planning Council

Monteith, Christine
Glendon College
York University

Moore, Sean
Public Affairs International
Limited

Moss, Sylvia
Canadian Broadcasting
Corporation

Muszynski, Leon
Metropolitan Toronto Social
Planning Council

Nicholson, Eleanor
Women's Division
Saskatchewan Labour

O'Connor, Eleanor
Glendon College
York University

Orenstein, Michael
Institute for Behavioural Research
York University

Pannick, David
Barrister

Parent, Madeleine
Confederation of Canadian Unions

Pearson, Alan
Alan Pearson and Associates

Pinto, Mary Anne
Glendon College
York University

Publicover, Alberta
Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women

Renald, Celine
Treasury Board

Reynolds, John
The Algoma Steel Corporation Limited

Roberts, Alison
Women's Bureau
Ontario Ministry of Labour

Robertson, Peter
Organization Resources Counselors

Royce, Marion

Sabia, Maureen J.
Redpath Industries Limited

Scott, Paul
Affirmative Action
Employment and Immigration Canada

Shalala, Susan
New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women

Sheehan, Susan
Status of Women Canada

Singer, Donna L.
Labour Canada

Sloan, R.M.
Alcan Canada Products Limited

Smith, Margaret
CUPE 100 (Ontario Hydro)

Surma, S.J.
Ford Motor Company of Canada

Theroux, Lise
Treasury Board

Townson, Monica
Economic Consultant

Twigg, Merran
Women's Division
Saskatchewan Labour

Tyler, D.R.
Ontario Hydro

Vianna, B.
Ontario Status of Women

Vice, Anne
Government of British Columbia

Walda, Carolyn
General Foods

Walton, Jan
Glendon College
York University

Weber, D.E.
Bell Canada

Williams, A.R.
Canadian National

Wilson, R.A.
Imperial Oil Limited

Wingrove, Al
IBM Canada

Wittenberg, Claire
Glendon College
York University

Young, David T.
Bell Canada

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

March 17-19, 1982

DAY ONE - Wednesday, March 17, 1982

9:30 - 10:00	Welcoming Remarks	Hon. Charles Caccia Minister Labour Canada
	Co-Chairperson's Remarks	Mr. Tom Eberlee Deputy Minister Labour Canada
		Dr. Ratna Ray Director Women's Bureau Labour Canada
10:00 - 11:00	SEXUAL EQUALITY: WHO HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACHIEVING IT?	Dian Cohen Economics Writer
		Madeleine Parent Eastern Vice-President Confederation of Canadian Unions
11:00 - 11:15	Coffee Break	
11:15 - 12:15	Question & Discussion Period	
12:30 - 1:45	Lunch Guest Speaker	Mr. Tom Eberlee Deputy Minister Labour Canada
2:00 - 3:30	INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES TO SEXUAL EQUALITY IN THE WORKPLACE	Peter Robertson (U.S.A.) Organization Resources Counselors Washington, D.C.
		David Pannick (U.K.) Barrister London, England

Monica Townson
Economist
Ottawa, Ontario

3:30 - 3:45	Coffee Break
3:45 - 5:00	Discussion and Question Period
5:00	Minister's Reception

DAY TWO - Thursday, March 18, 1982

9:00 - 9:15	Plenary Session Introduction to Concurrent Workshops	Conference Co-Chairmen
9:15 - 10:45	Concurrent Workshops Begin	
10:45 - 11:00	Coffee Break and Session Change	
11:00 - 12:30	Concurrent Workshops	
12:30 - 1:45	Lunch Guest Speaker	Hon. Judy Erola Minister Responsible for Status of Women
2:00 - 3:30	Concurrent Workshops	
3:30 - 3:45	Coffee Break and Session Change	
3:45 - 5:00	Concurrent Workshops	
	Adjournment	

DAY THREE - Friday, March 19, 1982

9:00 - 10:00	Plenary Session (Workshop Reports)	Workshop Moderators
10:00 - 10:15	Coffee Break	Monica Boyd Carleton University Peter Doyle Canadian Manufacturers' Association Judith Davidson-Palmer Wm. M. Mercer Ltd. Jane Gaskell University of British Columbia
10:15 - 12:15	Plenary Session Resumes	
10:15 - 12:15	Executive Session Commences	
12:30	Lunch	
	Report from Executive Session	Lorna Marsden University of Toronto
2:00	Conference Adjournment	